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THE
PHILOLOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL
WORKS
OF
CHARLES BUTLER,
ESQUIRE,
OF LINCOLN'S-INN.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.
CONTAINING
CHURCH OF FRANCE.

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THE
HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF THE
CHURCH OF FRANCE,
IN THE REIGNS OF
LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH,
LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH,
LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH,
AND
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
CHURCH OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

GENERAL SPLENDOR OF THE REIGN OF LEWIS
THE FOURTEENTH TILL THE PEACE OF
NIMÉGUEN.

1653—1678.

THE celebrated war of thirty years was concluded, in respect to all the belligerent powers, except France and Spain, by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648; and, in respect to France and Spain, by the peace of the Pyrenees, in 1659. Hostilities between them were renewed in 1667, and closed in 1668, by the peace of Aix-la Chapelle. In 1672, a new war broke out, it was ended in 1678, by the peace of Niméguen.

Few periods in history present a continued series of greater general splendor, than the reign of

Lewis the fourteenth, from its commencement till that treaty. It abounded with military glory: the internal administration of the kingdom was conducted on principles of enlightened wisdom and enlarged policy; the arts and sciences flourished; commerce and agriculture were successfully encouraged; and, even in the lowest departments of government, there was an air of grandeur.

The same splendor attended the monarch, in civil life. The ceremonial of the court was imposing; such of his pleasures as were designed for the public eye, were magnificent; his private amusements, were elegant; and, even in his most familiar habits and intercourse, the monarch was always pleasing and always dignified. At the close of this period, Lewis the fourteenth was equally adored and beloved at home, and feared and respected abroad.

It is true, that much of the glory of his reign arose from the great personages, by which it was illustrated. But, as it is a monarch's highest merit to call forth talents and bring them into action, this circumstance rather increases, than diminishes his praise. His fame is therefore exalted by saying, that few monarchs have been escorted to posterity by such a splendid circle of persons, eminent in whatever confers renown, as Lewis the fourteenth. Before the peace of Ryswick, he never employed a general, in the field; a minister, in the cabinet; or an ambassador, at a foreign court, whose abilities

proved inadequate to the trust reposed in him. His patronage of literary and scientific talents was equally wise: all his judgments on the artists, the scholars, or the men of wit, whom he particularly distinguished, have been ratified by posterity.

CHAP. II.

THE GENERAL SPLENDOR OF THE CHURCH OF
FRANCE, IN THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE
FOURTEENTH.

DURING the whole of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, the Church of France was in its highest lustre. A wide field of promotion in it was open to learning and virtue. If, on some occasions, the deference, which the monarch was obliged to shew to his ministers, or to the great families of France, prevented his conferring the dignities of the church, on those, whom the voice of the public proclaimed most worthy of them, yet he uniformly shut every avenue of preferment on those, whose imbecility or public dissipation either gave, or was likely to give, public offence. The consequence was, that the church of France abounded in religious and literary merit.

II. 1.

*The General Splendor of the Church of France, from
the Character of her Prelates.*

THE names of *Bossuet* and *Fenelon* are familiar to every reader : a particular account of them, in this place, is therefore unnecessary.—Below them, but in a very high rank, *Flequier*, bishop of Nismes, holds his seat in the temple of fame. He owes it to his funeral orations ; to that, in particular, which he pronounced on *mareschall Turenne*. In the praise of that immortal man, the poets and orators of France exerted all their powers ; but *Lewis* the fourteenth was the *mareschall's* best panegyrist. In January 1675, *Turenne*, with 20,000 men, defeated 60,000 Germans at *Turheim*, and drove the whole remainder of the imperial army beyond the *Rhine*. The detail of the victory was immediately sent to *Versailles*, and *Lewis* read it to his courtiers : the disproportion, in the number of the conflicting armies made it heard with astonishment ; and it became a contest, among the courtiers, which should express, in strongest terms, his admiration of the victory. *Lewis* then took, from his pocket, a letter :—it had been written by *Turenne* to *Louvois*, his majesty's minister at war, in the preceding October. It appeared by it, that both his majesty and his minister had feared for the issue of the campaign, and that, by his majesty's orders, *Louvois*

had suggested to Turenne, the prudence of a retreat into the interior. To this communication, the letter produced by Lewis, was an answer. Turenne modestly intimated in it, a wish, that his majesty's confidence in him, and the army entrusted to him, might be continued : he was aware, he said, of a projected junction of the army of the elector of Brandenburg with the imperialists ; that he should appear to be dismayed by it, and retreat before the enemy, till he should draw them into Lorraine : thence, he foretold, they would spread themselves, loosely, over Alsace ; and then, from a quarter they could not foresee, he would fall on their most important division, completely destroy it, and completely disorganize the whole remaining army. What he predicted, he effected, so that, in the beginning of February, there was not a German on the French side of the Rhine. No panegyric could elevate the mareschall's fame so high, as the production of this letter ; and the producing of it did the monarch honour ; as, by shewing that the plan was conceived and executed by Turenne, not only without the consent, but, in some measure, in opposition to the opinion both of the monarch and his minister, Lewis disclaimed unequivocally, what the courtiers were forward to ascribe to him, the merit of directing the operation of the armies, and thus becoming the primary cause of their successes. It may be added, that, at the defeat of the French navy at the battle of

La Hogue, Lewis behaved with equal magnanimity: he made the most explicit declaration, that, in his conduct, on that day, Tourville acted by his express command, and contrary to his own opinion.

Thus Lewis the fourteenth was Turenne's best panegyrist. To return to Flechier,—that his funeral oration on Turenne abounds with splendor and beauty, the severest critics admit: the exordium is magnificent, the contrast between the modest retiring manners of his hero, and the grandeur of his exploits, is exquisitely coloured, his death in the moment of victory, both in what the orator brings forward, and what he keeps behind, shews a master's hand. A master's hand is also discernible in Flechier's other funeral orations. But, even into his finest passages, prettiness enters too often; and the too frequent recurrence of antithesis, though almost always happily introduced, at length displeases. Yet, in this species of oratory, (and in the literature of France, it fills a large space), he is allowed by his countrymen, to approach nearer than any other, to Bossuet; and, in their opinion, Bossuet holds in it a lofty préeminence.

The greatest merit, however, of Flechier, was his exemplary discharge of pastoral duty. Lewis the fourteenth conferred on him the bishopric of Lavaur. "I should have raised you sooner," the monarch told him, "to a situation which you have long deserved, but I could not forego the pleasure of hearing you." From Lavaur,

Flequier was translated to Nîmes. He was the father of all his diocese ; regular in the discharge of his pastoral functions ; equally attentive to the rich and poor, expending, with a slight reserve for a decent household, the whole of his income in purposes of charity or beneficence. In a future page, his conduct to the calvinists will be mentioned. In the scarcity of 1709, when, (to use an expression familiar to the writers who have described it), the heavens appeared of brass, his exertions in favour of the poor knew no bounds : catholics and protestants were equally benefited by them. His reward was ample ; at his decease, catholics and protestants equally deplored their loss.

Inferior to all the prelates we have mentioned, in genius and eloquence, *Huet*, the bishop of Avranches, was, in general learning, greatly the superior of all. “ When we consider,” writes the abbé d’Olivet, in the short account published by him of this prelate, “ that he lived to the age
“ of ninety-one years ; that, from his earliest in-
“ fancy to his latest age, he was immersed in study ;
“ that he enjoyed uninterrupted health ; that, at
“ his dressing and undressing, and even at his meals,
“ his servants always read to him ; in a word, that,
“ to use his own language, neither the fire of
“ youth, the turmoil of business, the distraction of
“ employments, the society of his equals, or the
“ bustle of the world, could moderate, for a

“ moment, his unconquerable ardour of literature ;
“ it seems fair to conclude, that, of all mankind,
“ the bishop of Avranches had read most.” His *Demonstration of the Gospel*, is an immense mine of recondite erudition ; his *Dialogues on the best mode of translation, and the most eminent translators*, will be read by classical scholars with delight. He is best known in England, by his *History of the Commerce of the Ancients*.

Many other prelates, who filled the Sees of France, during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, would have done honour to the church of Christ, in her happiest days. Assuring the reader, that France then possessed several other prelates of extraordinary merit, we shall conclude this article by presenting the reader with the characters, drawn of *Godét des Marais*, the bishop of Chartres, by the pen, seldom used for flattery, of the duke de St. Simon ; and by the bishop of Alais, the biographer of Fenelon, of whom the bishop of Chartres was a decided and successful adversary.

“ This prelate,” says the duke, “ was very
“ learned, and particularly skilled in theology. He
“ possessed wit, firmness of character, and elegance.
“ What was surprising in a person of his habits,
“ his talents for the world and the court were so
“ great, that the ablest courtiers found it difficult
“ to keep pace with him ; and might have profited by his example. But it was a talent,
“ completely hidden from the public eye, and he

“ never brought it into action, except for some
“ great good. His disinterestedness, piety, and
“ rare probity were his only lustre. His conduct,
“ doctrine, and discharge of episcopal duty were
“ irreproachable ; his visits to Paris were both few
“ and short.”

The bishop of Alais gives more particulars of this prelate. He informs us, that, “ at the age of
“ fourteen, he was presented to the abbey of Igny,
“ in the diocese of Rheims ; and that he distributed all the revenue, which he received from it,
“ among the poor. The reputation of M. de
“ Tronson drew him to the seminary of St. Sulpice :
“ there, he became acquainted with Fenelon ; and,
“ while Fenelon studied the mystics, which bewildered him, the abbé Godét des Marais, applied
“ to the study of the sacred writings. He remained
“ in the seminary, till Madame de Maintenon
“ solicited him to be her confessor. She had
“ previously requested father Bourdaloue to undertake the charge of her conscience, an office, as
“ she archly observes, in one of her letters, not
“ *then* to be despised. It was refused by Bourdaloue ; and, on his refusal, it was accepted, but
“ not without much hesitation by the abbé. He
“ continued, notwithstanding, in his privacy. The
“ person, who took to him the news of his nomination to the bishopric of Chartres, found him on
“ his knees, before a crucifix, in a small room, all
“ the furniture of which consisted of a chair, a

“ table, and a map of the holy land. He was only
“ induced to acquiesce in his nomination, by the
“ orders of his superiors. In 1693, the poor of
“ his diocese being in great distress, from a scarcity
“ of provisions, he assigned over to them, without
“ reserve, the whole of his revenue. All his stock
“ of plate consisted of a single spoon, and a single
“ fork ; and these, he once sold, to relieve a poor
“ man. Lewis the fourteenth wished to appoint him
“ counsellor of state, and to nominate him to the
“ rank of cardinal : he refused both dignities. He
“ preached frequently ; was little praised ; but made
“ numerous converts to virtue. His letters to Lewis
“ the fourteenth ; to other sovereign princes ; to the
“ pope, to the king of Spain, were worthy of the first
“ ages of the church. Long after his death, his
“ letters to Madame de Maintenon were published.
“ The wisdom and moderation, with which they
“ are written ; the skill, profound knowledge of
“ the world, and good advice, which they contain,
“ have made them universally admired, the more,
“ as they are the letters of a prelate, who was
“ uniformly confined to the gloom of a seminary, or
“ the solitary precincts of his episcopal mansion.”

Such a character it is impossible not to respect ; it is pleasing to repeat, that the Gallican Prelacy contained, at the same time, many such characters. “ Never,” according to La Cretelle, (*Histoire de France durant le dix-septième siècle, livre iv*), and he is an authority whom none will

suspect of partiality on this subject, “ did the
“ clergy of France display greater dignity of con-
“ duct, or more exalted talents, than under Lewis
“ the fourteenth. A considerable number revived in
“ themselves the zeal and profound doctrine of the
“ fathers of the church ; united the inspired tone
“ of the sacred writings, with an happy imitation
“ of the best models of antiquity ; and enforced
“ their authority still more by their virtues than
“ their writings. Unfortunately, they engaged in
“ controversies, which led to hatred, intrigue and
“ persecution. But, in spite even of these, it was
“ impossible not to acknowledge, in both parties,
“ great names, virtues that could not be denied,
“ talents that must be admired. Even in his old
“ age, when he so often failed in the choice of his
“ generals, Lewis still chose excellent bishops.”

II. 2.

The higher Class of the Second Order of Clergy.

THE higher class of the second order of the Gallican clergy was always truly respectable : the following account of it is given by Mr. Burke, in his celebrated *Reflections on the Revolution in France* ; and it should be observed, that it was written at the distance of eighty years, from the death of Lewis the fourteenth, when every rank in France is represented to have been in a state of degeneracy.
“ With some of the higher class of the clergy,”

says Mr. Burke, “ I had a personal acquaintance ;
“ and of the rest in that class, very good means of
“ information. They were, almost all of them,
“ persons of noble birth. They resembled others
“ of their own rank ; and, where there was any
“ difference, it was in their favour. They were
“ more fully educated than the military noblesse ;
“ so as, by no means, to disgrace their profession
“ by ignorance, or by want of fitness for the exer-
“ cise of their authority. They seemed to me
“ beyond the clerical character, liberal and open ;
“ with the hearts of gentlemen, and men of honour ;
“ neither insolent nor servile in their manners and
“ conduct. They seemed to me rather a superior
“ class ; a set of men, amongst whom you would
“ not be surprised to find a *Fenelon*. I saw,
“ among the clergy in Paris,—(many of the de-
“ scription are not to be met with any where),—
“ men of great learning and candour ; and I had
“ reason to believe, that this description was not
“ confined to Paris. What I found in other
“ places, I know was accidental ; and therefore to
“ be presumed a fair sample. I spent a few days
“ in a provincial town, where, in the absence of the
“ bishop, I passed my evenings with three clergy-
“ men, his vicars general, persons who would have
“ done honour to any church. They were all well
“ informed ; two of them of deep, general, and
“ extensive erudition, ancient and modern, oriental
“ and western ; particularly in their own profession.

“ They had a more extensive knowledge of our
 “ divines, than I expected ; and they entered into
 “ the genius of those writers with a critical
 “ accuracy.”

II. 3.

The Parochial Clergy.

A few lines before the passage which has been cited from the “ *Reflections on the French Revolution*,” Mr. Burke regrets, that “ he had not
 “ the good fortune to know a great many of her
 “ parochial clergy.” This certainly is much to be regretted ; for a pen, less eloquent, than his, cannot do justice to their sanctity and charity.

A French country curate was truly the father of his flock. There was not within his parish, a subject of joy, or distress, in which he did not feelingly participate.

Le pauvre l'allait voir, et revenait heureux.

VOLT. *Henriade*.

Generally speaking, his income was small. If it fell short of what the French law termed the *portion congrue*, about eighteen pounds a year of our money,—but, taking into calculation, the relative value of specie, and the relative price of provisions, about sixty pounds a year of English money, in its present worth,—the state made good the deficiency. It is evident, that, with such an income, the curé

could spare little. Whatever it was, he gave it cheerfully, thriftily and wisely: and the soothing word, the compassionate look, the active exertion to serve, were never wanting. In the house of mourning, the curate was always seen: the greatest comfort of the aged, was to perceive him enter their door. The young never enjoyed their mirth or pastime so much, as when they saw him stand near them and smile. But the curé never forgot that he was a minister of God. The discharge of his functions, particularly of his sacred ministry at the altar, was at once the pride, and the happiness of his life. There was scarcely a curate who did not thoroughly instruct the children of his parish in their catechism, and his whole flock in their duties; who did not every sunday and holiday officiate at the morning and evening service; who did not regularly attend his poor parishioners through their illnesses, and prepare them, in their last moments, for their passage to eternity. The last act of his life was to commend his flock to God, and to beg his blessing on them.—In every part of France the peasant spoke of him as his best friend; “*Notre bon Curé*” was his universal appellation.—This is not an exaggerated picture of those venerable men. Their merit was at once so transcendent, and so universally recognized, as to defy calumny. On every other rank of men, the philosophers and witlings of France exhausted abuse and ridicule; but they left untouched the worthy and edifying

curé.—Voltaire himself, in more passages than one of his works, pays due homage to their useful and unpretending virtue.

In his *Essay on the Eloquence of the Pulpit*, cardinal Maury mentions, that, when he was collecting materials for it, he found that the abbé de Randovilliers had a general reputation of being uncommonly charitable; but he could discover no particular instances of his charity, till it occurred to him to apply to the curate of the parish of St. Roche, with whom the abbé was known to be intimate. From him the cardinal learned, that the abbé regularly gave one-fourth of his ecclesiastical revenue to the poor of the places, in which it arose: that, during the last thirty-three years of his life, he sent one hundred guineas monthly to the poor of the parish of St. Roche, and besides that donation, had a weekly account of charity with the curate, for uncommon objects of relief; an application for whom, the curate declared, he had never known the abbé deny. The abbé's own expenses were limited to one-fourth of his income. What filled the measure, and sanctified the merit of his great charities, is, that they were concealed, and known to God alone, and to the very few persons who were concerned in the distribution of them.

All the furniture of a late curé de St. Sulpice, who had the richest curacy in France, consisted of a bed, a table, and a few chairs. Cardinal Maury relates, that, when the curé de St. Roche refused to

take the oath of adherence to the civil constitution of the clergy, he convened a meeting of some of the principal parishioners to verify his accounts : and that the celebrated M. Bailly, the mayor of Paris, attended the meeting. The curate produced his accounts ; and it appeared by them, that the charitable subscriptions of the preceding year, all which were purely voluntary, amounted to 130,000 French livres ; for every farthing of which the cure accounted most satisfactorily. All these charities were absolutely private, and, if the circumstance, which has been mentioned, had not brought them into notice, would have remained unknown.

II. 4.

The Literary merit of the Secular Clergy.

It must be added, that many of the secular clergy were distinguished by their profound and extensive learning.

Mention has been made of *Bossuet*, as a bishop :—As a writer, it will readily be admitted that learning, eloquence and power of argument, were so highly united in him, that, to find another person, in whom all of them have been united in the same degree, both ancient and modern times might be ransacked unsuccessfully. In general literature, however, some of the French clergy were his equals, some, even his superiors. In the various erudition, which the composition of an ecclesiastical history

requires, in laborious and extensive research, and critical discrimination, no historian has surpassed *Tillemont*.—In wisdom and impartiality, few have equalled *Fleury*; his *Mœurs des anciens Juifs*, and *Mœurs des anciens Chrétiens*, and his *Choix des Eudes*, are excellent. Far from depreciating the biblical exertions of our own times, the present writer thinks they have rendered, and continue to render incalculable service to learning and religion: yet he is convinced, that a repeated perusal of the Bible, or of any portion of it, will not give, either childhood or youth, so good a notion of the history, the religion, or the morality of the sacred volumes, as *Fleury's Historical Catechism*. But *Fleury* more properly belongs to the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, and, as his ecclesiastical history, his most considerable work, was published in that reign, we shall defer, till we mention the literary characters of that period, a particular mention of that performance. The *Port Royalists* cannot be passed over in silence. Confining the remark to those works, in which they abstained from Jansenism, it may be truly said, that, in fine taste, close reasoning, luminous order, and chaste, but nervous elegance, Europe has not produced superior writers. The ecclesiastic literature of the East was profoundly investigated by *Eusebius Renaudot*. Those, who quarrel most with the boldness of *Dupin*, must still allow the greatness of his literary endowments. The praise of deep and varied learning, particularly in the

early antiquities of their own ecclesiastical and constitutional history, must also be allowed to *LaMarca*, the courtly archbishop of Paris, to his secretary, *Baluzius*, the editor of the Capitularies, and to *Adrian and Francis Valois*;—but it is useless to present the reader with a meagre bead-roll of names.

II. 5.

Literary merit of the Jesuits.

LEWIS the fourteenth extended his royal patronage to all the religious orders; but particularly distinguished the Society of Jesus.

In vast and extensive erudition, (these words are applied to him by Bayle), few writers have exceeded *Petavius*, the glory of the college de Clermont*.

* Thus, the inhabitants of this celebrated college are described, by the most elegant of modern French poets, in the verses, which he addressed to them, on quitting them.

Où,—j'ai vu des mortels,—j'en dois icy l'aveu,
 Trop combattus, connus trop peu ;
 J'ai vu des esprits vrais, des cœurs incorruptibles,
 Voués a la patrie, a leur roi, a leur Dieu,
 A leur propres maux insensibles,
 Prodiges de leur jours, tendres, parfaits amis,
 Et souvent bienfaiteurs paisibles,
 De leurs plus fougex ennemis.
 Trop estimés enfin pour être moins hais.
 Que d'autres, s'exhalant, dans leur haine insensée,
 En reproches injurieux,
 Cherchent, en les quittant, a les rendre odieux :
 Pour moi, fidèle au vrai, fidele a ma pensée,
 C'est ainsi, qu' en partant, je leur fais mes adieu.

GRESSET.

Within the same walls, *Sirmond Cossart and Labbé*, cultivated the severe studies with the greatest success, and the Latin muse smiled on *Commirius, Vanier and Rapin*. A higher degree of praise is due to *Bourdaloue*; and Lewis the fourteenth shares in it, as well for the just taste, which led him to appreciate the merit of the preacher, as for the noble spirit of candour, which made him both endure and honour the preacher's gospel liberty. When we recollect before whom Bourdaloue preached; that he had, for his auditors, the most luxurious court in Europe, and a monarch abandoned to ambition and pleasure, we shall find it impossible not to honour the preacher, for the dignified simplicity, with which he uniformly held up to his audience the severity of the gospel, and the scandal of the cross. Now and then, and ever with a very bad grace, he makes an unmeaning compliment to the monarch. On these occasions, his genius appears to desert him; but he never disguises the morality of the gospel, or withholds its threats:—In one of the sermons, which he preached before the monarch, Bourdaloue described, with infinite eloquence, the horrors of an adulterous life, its abomination in the eye of God, its scandal to man; and the public and private evils which attend it: but he managed his discourse with so much address, as kept the king from suspecting, that the thunder of the preacher was ultimately to fall on him.—In general, Bourdaloue spoke in a level tone of voice, and with his eyes almost shut. On this

occasion, having wound up the attention of the monarch and the audience to the highest pitch, he paused. The audience expected something terrible, and seemed to fear the next word.—The pause continued for some time,—at length, the preacher, fixing his eyes directly on his royal hearer, and, in a tone of voice equally expressive of horror and concern, said, in the words of the prophet, “*Thou art the man!*” then, leaving these words to their effect, he concluded with a mild and general prayer to heaven for the conversion of all sinners.—A miserable courtier, observed, in a whisper to the monarch, that the boldness of the preacher exceeded all bounds, and should be checked. “No, Sir,” replied the monarch, “the preacher has done *his* duty, let us do *ours*.” When the service was concluded, the monarch walked slowly from the church, and ordered Bourdaloue into his presence. He remarked to him, his general protection of religion, the kindness which he had ever shewn to the society of Jesus, his particular attention to Bourdaloue and his friends. He then reproached him with the strong language of the sermon; and asked him, what could be his motive for insulting him, thus publicly, before his subjects. Bourdaloue fell on his knees: “God,” he assured the monarch, “was his witness, that it “was not his wish to insult his majesty; but I am “a minister of God,” said Bourdaloue, “and must “not disguise his truths. What I said in my

“ sermon, is my morning and evening prayer :—
“ May God, in his infinite mercy, grant me to see
“ the day, when the greatest of kings shall be
“ the holiest.”—The monarch was affected, and
silently dismissed the preacher.—But, from that
time, the court began to observe that change, which
afterwards, and at no distant period, led Lewis to a
life of regularity and virtue.

In the praise of Bourdaloue, all, who mention him,
are agreed. But, to another member of his order,
all have not shewn equal justice. During thirty-
seven years, *father la Chaise* filled the delicate and
important situation of confessor of the king. “ He
“ was of an ancient family,” says the duke de St.
Simon, “ and one of twelve children. He did not
“ possess brilliant talents, but had a good heart ;
“ was just, upright, wise, mild and moderate ; an
“ enemy of violence and noise. He possessed
“ honour, probity and humanity, was always polite,
“ modest and courteous. Through life, he paid
“ great attention to a powerful family, who had
“ patronised his own, when it wanted friends. He
“ was attached to his order, but without passion or
“ servility.” The king frequently mentioned an
answer made to him by the confessor, which does
him great honour. “ I reproached him,” said the
king, “ with being too indulgent.” “ Sir,” an-
swered the confessor, “ *I* am not too indulgent ;
“ but *you* are too unfeeling.”—The monarch’s
repeating the expression, may be urged as a proof,

that he did not altogether deserve the reproof which it conveyed.

II. 6.

Literary merit of the Reformed Congregations of the Benedictine Order.

ANOTHER circumstance, which contributed to the glory of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, was the literary eminence of several members of the reformed congregations of the Benedictine order.

In his journey to the siege of la Rochelle, Lewis the thirteenth assisted at the divine service, at the abbey of Marmoutier, and remarked the indecency and hurry, with which it was celebrated. This led him to further enquiries: they revealed the unwelcome information, that too many of the wealthier abbeys stood in need of much reform. Under the sanction of a bull from the pope, a council for the reform was therefore immediately formed, and the cardinal de la Rochefoucault placed at its head. The cardinal was commendatary abbot of the abbey of the canons-regular of St. Geneviève. He began the work of reformation, by the reform of his own abbey; and resigned his abbatial dignity, in order that, in future, the abbey might be governed by a regular abbot. A similar reform took place, soon after, in the abbeys of St. Vannes and St. Hiddulph in Lorraine. The good effects of this reform were

so striking, that several Benedictine abbeys in France, wished to embrace it, and to be formed, for that purpose, into distinct congregations. With the approbation of the pope, and the consent of a general assembly of their order, they obtained, in 1618, letters patent from the crown, erecting them into a congregation, which, from the name of one of the first disciples of St. Benedict, was called the congregation of St. Maur. The services, which this illustrious body have rendered both to sacred and profane literature, are incalculable. We owe to them, the most accurate and learned editions of the works of the Greek and Latin fathers, and several monastic and provincial histories. Among them, the *Gallia Christiana*, a topographical history of the ecclesiastical divisions of France, executed on the largest plan, deserves particular mention. The immortal treatise of *Mabillon de Re Diplomaticâ* is more known in England. It constituted him the acknowledged father of the learning of ancient charters. In one part of it, he refuted the charge of falsification, brought against the monks; by Cónringius, and some other anti-catholic writers. In another, he exposed some errors of father Papebrook, a Flemish jesuit of immense erudition, on a point of great importance in diplomatic learning. The reply of father Papebrook is most edifying. " I must confess," he says in it, " that I have no other satisfaction whatever, in having written on the subject, than that, which I derive, from

“ having been the occasion of your excellent work.
“ I must own, that, when I began to read it, I
“ felt some mortification, at finding myself so vic-
“ toriously refuted; but, long before my perusal of
“ it was finished, the utility and beauty of your
“ discussion subdued my weakness; and, full of
“ joy to see it place the truth in its full light, I
“ invited the companion of my labours, to share
“ my admiration. Whenever there is any occa-
“ sion, I wish you to proclaim aloud, that I am
“ come over, entirely, to your opinion.” No liter-
ary triumph is worth such a sentiment of truly
christian humility. But, no one possessed that
virtue in a higher degree than Mabillon himself.
His publications and the honour of his order
engaged him in some literary contests; and he
uniformly preserved, in them, the greatest mode-
ration. He was presented to Lewis the fourteenth
by the archbishop of Rheims and Bossuet. “ I have
“ the honour,” the former said to the king, “ to
“ introduce to your majesty the most learned of
“ your subjects:”—“ And I,” said Bossuet, “ have
“ the honour to introduce to you the most humble
“ of them.”—*Montfaucon* vies with Mabillon in
celebrity. The Maurist abbeys furnished many
writers of nearly equal merit. All of them were
patronised by Lewis the fourteenth, and their liter-
ary reputation contributed greatly to the lustre of
his reign.

II. 7.

The Oratorians, Lazarists, and Sulpiciens.

THE reign of Lewis the fourteenth was also illustrated by several religious communities, which, during that period, were either founded, or first established in France. Without being bound by religious vows, the members lived in community, in the observance of certain settled rules; and thus far, had a resemblance to religious orders. Such were the Oratorians, the Lazarists, and the Sulpiciens.

The first, were particularly given to the study of theology and sacred literature; and, possessing *Mallebranche, Lami, Simon, Le Brun*, and other able writers, attracted, in a high degree, the notice of the public. The Lazarists and Sulpiciens courted obscurity. The character, given by M. de Baussét, in his *Life of Fenelon*, of the Sulpiciens, may be applied equally to them and the Lazarists. In perusing it, the reader will probably be put in mind of the beautiful lines, in which the poet, in his *Temple of Fame*, (verse 356—366), describes the smallest tribe, “he yet had seen.”—“Avoiding
“public notice,” says M. de Baussét, “engaging
“in no contest, resigning to others those good
“works, which confer celebrity, it was *their* object
“to be actively employed in the service of the
“church, in the most obscure and most humble

“ functions ; and, within that modest, but useful
“ line of duty, their exertions were uniformly con-
“ fined. They had numerous establishments in
“ France, and existed one hundred and fifty years,
“ without the slightest abatement of their first
“ fervour, when, at the beginning of the French
“ Revolution, they perished in the general wreck,
“ of what was most respectable and holy in
“ France.”

II. 8.

Religious and Literary Missions of the East.

THE Missions into the East, under the patronage of Lewis the fourteenth, added to the lustre of his reign.

Some were of a literary, and others of a religious nature ; but all were made subservient to the general cause of literature and religion. At different times, scholars of established reputation were sent by the monarch, into Greece, Asia and Egypt, to explore their literary wealth. All of them did not return to Lewis the fourteenth, as Jonas Lascaris did to Lorenzo di Medici, with a treasure of two hundred manuscripts, eighty of which were then unknown in Europe, yet, all the monarch's missionaries returned with a respectable spoil*.

* An account of these literary missions would be very interesting and instructive.

But we still want a greater work, a complete history of the

A pleasing comparison between the literary missions of France and England, might be instituted ; and in contemplating the different scenes, a son of St. Ignatius might be allowed to behold, with some complacency, the large proportion contributed by his order, to the stock brought into the comparison by France.

1. If we extend our view, at once to the easternmost scene of their labours, we must acknowledge, that, for almost all we know of the arts or literature of *China*, we were, till lately, indebted to France. In 1552, St. Francis Xavier reached Macao. In 1582, it was reached by father Ricci, a jesuit, who had been instructed in mathematics, by the celebrated Clavius. His mathematical reputation had passed the seas before him ; so that,

revival of literature under Leo the tenth. To accomplish it, a literary tour, on the plan of the Travels of the young Anarcharis, might be devised. A young Sarmatian, initiated in classical lore, by some German or Italian, whom war or commerce had thrown beyond the Vistula, might make his way into Italy, and after much wandering, become the commensal of Erasmus at Basle, and remain with him till his decease. His wandering might then be renewed, and he might spend his last years with Grotius. Much of course he would see, and hear, and read ; and all he saw, or heard, or read, he would communicate to some favoured correspondent ; who, after his friends decease, would publish his letters, with notes. Such a work from a pen of taste, learning, and industry, at once patient and active, would be even more interesting than that of Barthlemi, and like it, find its way to every library, and almost every toilet in Europe.

immediately upon his arrival at Macao, he was ordered by the emperor to Peking. He sowed the first seeds of christianity in China, and died in 1610. The number of christians increased, but was checked by the invasion of the Tartars. These completed the conquest of China in 1644, and, soon after the settlement of the new government, the christian religion began to gain ground. The emperor Kang-hi, was sensible of the value of European arts and sciences. This circumstance rendered him favourable to the missionaries. He protected them publicly, and, in 1692, permitted them, by a solemn edict to preach, throughout his dominions, the religion of Christ. He lodged several of them in his palace, and conferred on them some offices of distinction. In 1715, the number of christians in China amounted to three hundred thousand; and they possessed three hundred churches.—In their propagation of the gospel in China, the jesuits shewed great good sense. They did every thing to conciliate public and individual favour; they carefully abstained from every thing that had a tendency to draw on them public, or individual dislike; and, so far as it could be done without trenching on the substance of religion, they accommodated their instructions to the opinions and feelings of the country. In some instances, they were supposed to carry this spirit of accommodation too far, and by a papal bull, they were obliged to retrace some steps

of their conciliating advances. Their readiness to comply with the bull did them honour.

Between the years 1581 and 1681, one hundred and twenty-six European jesuits were employed in the missions in China*. “It must,” says Sir George Staunton, (*Embassy to China*, vol. II. p. 159), “appear a singular spectacle to every class of beholders, to see men, actuated by motives, different from those of most human actions, quitting for ever their country and their connections, to devote themselves for life for the purpose of changing the tenets of a people they had never seen; and, in pursuing that object, to run every risk, suffer every persecution, and sacrifice every comfort; insinuating themselves by address, by talent, by perseverance, by humility, by application to studies foreign from their original education, or by the cultivation of arts to which they had not been bred, into notice and protection; overcoming the prejudices of being strangers in a country, where most strangers were prohibited; and where, it was a crime to have abandoned the tombs of their ancestors; and gaining, at length, establishments necessary for the propagation of the faith, without turning

* *Catalogus Patrum Societatis Jesu, qui, post obitum S. Francisci Xavierii, ab anno 1561, usque ad annum 1681, in imperio Sinarum, Jesu Christi fidem propagarunt.* Parisii, 1686: an interesting work, written originally in the Chinese language, and translated from it, into the Latin language, by father Couplét.

“ their influence to any personal advantage. Every “ European,” Sir George Staunton adds, from his own experience, “ was greeted by them, as a countryman, entitled to regard and service.”

All the information, which the missionaries could acquire of the learning, the arts, and the sciences of China, they transmitted to Europe. It is principally to be found in their *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, of which Fontenelle said, that “ he “ had never read a work, which answered better “ to its title.” To the general accuracy of these letters, and the works of father du Halde, and father Gaubil, the interesting account published by Sir George Staunton of his embassy to China, bears testimony, and the writer of these pages has often heard him mention them, in terms of the highest praise. In his *Histoire du Christianisme de l’Ethiopie et de l’Armenie*, p. 269—402, La Croze mentions with praise, the account given of Armenia, in the third volume of the *Nouveaux Memoires des Missions du Levant*: and, as Mr. Gibbon observes, (ch. 47; note 148), the work of a jesuit must have sterling merit, when it is praised by La Croze:—Thus far, the comparison was decidedly in favour of the French; and it was greatly owing to Lewis the fourteenth’s missionaries. When, to these labours of the missionaries of the society of Jesus, we add the literary exertions of the Fourmonts and de Guignes, we must admit that, at present, the comparison is in favour of the

French : but, the late and present Sir George Staunton, Mr. Marsden, and Mr. Marshman have, in our times, thrown several works of the greatest importance into the English scale, and we may hope to see the balance soon turn in our favour.

2. If we retreat westwardly, and cross the Ganges, the balance is certainly in favour of the English.—Of the spacious territory, which, under the general appellation of *Hindustan*, answers to the *India infra Gangem* of the ancients, we owe almost the whole of our knowledge to the literary activity of our countrymen. That country, however, had been previously traversed by the missionaries of Lewis the fourteenth ; and the extensive and accurate information concerning it, which is contained in father Pons's letter (*Lett. Edif. et Cur.* 13 vol. p. 394), is universally admitted.

3. Continuing still, a westward course, we reach the *Parsees*, the descendants of the ancient Persians : this interesting people does not appear to have been illustrated by any French missionaries ; so that the learning of France had nothing to oppose to the *Religio Veterum Persarum* of Dr. Hyde,—before the publication of the *Zend-Avesta*, by *Anquetil du Perron*. That publication turns the scale, so far as respects this curious branch of ancient learning, in favour of France.

4. *Egypt and the Moréa* have been equally the object of French and English literary visits. Here too, the Loyolan missionaries of Lewis the four-

teenth come in for their share of praise. Whoever reads, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, the interesting correspondence of *father Sicard*, respecting Egypt, the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, their wanderings in the desert, or the ruins of the monasteries in Scété, and the Thebaide, so pleasingly celebrated by St. Jerome, must allow, that Mr. Gibbon's wish respecting Volney, "that he might travel all over the world," would be applied with much better reason to father Sicard.

Such were the labours of these pious and learned missionaries. Through the whole of his reign, Lewis the fourteenth was their principal support. In every part of it, he distinguished their order by great marks of affection and confidence.—Nor were its members, deficient in gratitude :—both, while he lived, and after his decease, they were the warm and able advocates of his fame ; and checked, almost as an impiety, any attempt to uncover his infirmities, or point out his defects. This added to his renown : Much of it is owing to his protection of the artist and the scholar ; much is also owing to his protection of the children of Loyola.

CHAP. III.

SHORT VIEW OF THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, FROM THE PEACE OF NIMÉGUEN TO THE PEACE OF RYSWICK.

1678—1697.

AT the peace of Niméguen, Lewis the fourteenth gave law to Europe. Eight years after it was signed, the league of Augsburgh was formed against him, and soon irritated him into hostilities. A continental war followed, in which, one of his leading objects was to restore James the second to the throne of England. This was terminated by the peace of Ryswick, in 1697. By that peace, Lewis the fourteenth was compelled to renounce the cause of James the second, acknowledge the title of William, and restore to the Spaniards, all they had lost at the peace of Niméguen. Thus, the peace of Ryswick became the term of his glory.

Of the ecclesiastical history of this part of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, three events deserve particular attention ;—The declaration of the assembly of the Gallican clergy, in 1682, respecting ecclesiastical power ;—The revocation of the edict of Nantes ;—And the condemnation of Quietism.

CHAP. IV.

THE DECLARATION OF THE GALRICAN CLERGY, IN
1682, RESPECTING ECCLESIASTICAL POWER.

TO give the reader an accurate notion of the nature and extent of this interesting document, we shall endeavour to present him, 1st, With a succinct view of the faith of the Roman-catholic church, respecting the spiritual power of the pope : 2dly, With a short exposition of the doctrines of its transalpine and cisalpine divines, on this important point : 3dly, With some account of the disputes concerning the Regale, or the right, claimed by the kings of France, to receive the revenues and collate to the simple benefices of every vacant see within their dominions : 4thly, With the four articles, containing the declaration of the assembly of the Gallican clergy, in 1682, respecting ecclesiastical power : 5thly, With some account of the discussions, between the see of Rome and Lewis the fourteenth, to which the declaration gave rise : 6thly, Of the alleged indirect censure of the declaration by Pius the sixth, the late pope, in his bull, condemning the proceedings of the synod at Pistoia : 7thly, And of the argument, drawn by the cisalpine divines, in favour of the declaration, from the conduct of cardinal Caprara, the legate from Pius the seventh, the present pope, to Buonaparte.

IV. 1.

Universal Doctrine of the Roman-catholics, respecting the Supremacy of the Pope.

It is an article of the Roman-catholic faith, that the pope has, by divine right, 1st, a supremacy of rank; 2dly, a supremacy of jurisdiction, in the spiritual concerns of the Roman-catholic church; and, 3dly, the principal authority in defining articles of faith.—In consequence of these prerogatives, the pope holds a rank, splendidly prééminent, over the highest dignitaries of the church; has a right to convene councils, and preside over them, by himself or his legates; and to confirm the elections of bishops: every ecclesiastical cause may be brought to him, as the last resort, by appeal; he may promulgate definitions and formularies of faith to the universal church; and, when the general body, or a great majority of her prelates, have assented to them, all are bound to acquiesce in them: “Rome,” they say, in such a case, “has spoken, and the cause is determined.” To the pope, in the opinion of all Roman-catholics, belongs also a general superintendence of the concerns of the church; a right, when the canons provide no line of action, to direct the proceedings; and, in extraordinary cases, to act in opposition to the canons.—In those spiritual concerns, in which, by strict right, his authority is not definitive, he is entitled to the highest respect and deference.—Thus far, there is

no difference of opinion among Roman-catholics ; but here, they divaricate into the transalpine and cisalpine opinions.

IV. 2.

Difference between Transalpine and Cisalpine Doctrines, on the Temporal and Spiritual Power of the Pope.

THE great difference between the Transalpine and Cisalpine divines, on the power of the pope, formerly was, that the transalpine divines attributed to the pope a divine right to the exercise, indirect at least, of temporal power, for effecting a spiritual good ; and, in consequence of it, held that the supreme power of every state was so far subject to the pope, that, when he deemed that the bad conduct of the sovereign, rendered it essential to the good of the church, that he should reign no longer, the pope was authorized, by his divine commission, to deprive him of his sovereignty, and absolve his subjects from their obligation of allegiance ; and that, even in ordinary occasions, the pope might enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation and jurisdiction, by civil penalties.—On the other hand, the cisalpine divines affirmed, that the pope had no right either to interfere in temporal concerns, or to enforce obedience to his spiritual legislation or jurisdiction, by temporal power ; and consequently had no right to deprive a sovereign of his sovereignty, to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, or to enforce his spiritual authority over either, by civil penalties.—This difference of opinion exists *now*

no longer, the transalpine divines having insensibly adopted, on this subject, the cisalpine opinions.

But, though on this important point, both parties are at last agreed, they *still* differ on others.

In spiritual concerns, the transalpine opinions ascribe to the pope a superiority, and controlling power over the whole church, should she oppose his decrees, and consequently over a general council, its representative; and the same superiority and controlling power, even in the ordinary course of business, over the canons of the universal church. They describe the pope, as the fountain of all ecclesiastical order, jurisdiction and dignity. They assign to him, the power of judging all persons in spiritual concerns, of calling all spiritual causes to his cognizance; of constituting, suspending, and deposing bishops; of conferring all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, in or out of his dominions, by paramount authority; of exempting individuals or communities from the jurisdiction of their prelates; of evoking to himself, or judges appointed by him, any cause actually pending in an ecclesiastical court; and of receiving, immediately, appeals from all sentences of ecclesiastical courts, though they be inferior courts, from which there is a regular appeal to an intermediate superior court. They further ascribe to the pope, the extraordinary prerogative of personal infallibility, when he undertakes to issue a solemn decision on any point of faith.

The cisalpines affirm, that in spirituals, the pope is subject, in doctrine and discipline, to the church,

and to a general council representing her ; that he is subject to the canons of the church, and cannot, except in an extreme case, dispense with them ; that, even in such a case, his dispensation is subject to the judgment of the church ; that the bishops derive their jurisdiction from God himself, immediately, and not derivatively through the pope ; that he has no right to confer bishoprics, or other spiritual benefices of any kind, the patronage of which, by common right, prescription, concordat, or any other general rule of the church, is vested in another. They admit, that an appeal lies to the pope from the sentence of the metropolitan ; but assert, that no appeal lies to the pope, and that he can evoke no cause to himself, during the intermediate process. They affirm, that a general council may, without, and even against the pope's consent, reform the church.—They deny his personal infallibility, and hold, that he may be deposed by the church, or a general council, for heresy or schism : and they admit, that in an extreme case*, where there is a great division of opinion, an appeal lies from the pope to a future general council.

* Instances of which, are, according to the account of Bossuet, so very rare, that it is scarcely possible to find true examples of such an extreme case in the course of several ages. “ Ce qu'il y a de principal, c'est, que les cas, auxquelles “ la France soutient le recours du pape au concile, sont “ si rares, qu' a peine en peut on trouver de vrais exemples “ en plusieurs siècles.” *Lettre de Bossuet au cardinal d'Estrées. Œuvres de Bossuet, vol. IX. p. 272, ed. Ben.*

IV. 3.

Discussions between Lewis the fourteenth and the Pope, on the subject of the Regâle.

THOUGH Lewis the fourteenth shewed, in every part of his life, a sincere respect for religion, he was frequently at variance with the pope.—About the year 1680, a considerable degree of irritation took place between him and the see of Rome. One of the principal points, in contest between them, respected the *Regâle*, or right, claimed by the kings of France to receive the revenue, and to collate to simple benefices, within every vacant see in their dominions. This was always viewed with jealousy, not only by the pope and foreign divines, but by the general body of the church of France; and its warmest advocates treated it rather as a tolerated, than an acknowledged claim. As such, it was admitted by the second council of Lyons, but with an express limitation to the territories, within which it was then actually exercised; and an excommunication of those, who carried it beyond them. It was generally considered, that the provinces, bordering on the Alps and Pyrénées, were not subject to it: and, on this ground, when Lewis the fourteenth attempted to exercise it, during the vacancy of the bishopric of Pamiers, the chapter resisted it; and, after the bishop elect took possession of his see, he pronounced, in his episcopal

court, a sentence in favour of the proceedings of the chapter. An appeal from that sentence was carried to the court of the metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne. There the sentence of the bishop was reversed ; but the archbishop's sentence was reversed at Rome. Upon this, the king issued an edict, by which he asserted his prerogative. The edict was immediately registered by the parliament, and acquiesced in by the assembly of the French clergy, which was then sitting at Paris.

It was foreseen by the prelates, that their conduct would give great offence to the pope ; and they feared he would proceed to extreme measures against them. To ward off these, the archbishop of Rheims addressed to the pope a letter, in the names of himself and the other prelates, of whom the assembly was composed ; in which, without pretending absolutely to justify, he said every thing which was likely to extenuate their conduct, in the eyes of the pontiff, and sooth his displeasure.—It was the composition of Bossuet, and written with equal force and address. The great services rendered by the king to religion, the magnitude of his power, and the possible consequences of incurring his displeasure, are held out in a strong point of view ; but in terms which would rather lead the pope to feel them, from his own conclusions, than by any direct expressions in the letter. The real encroachment on the rights of the church was said to be small, and some advantages were alleged to

result from the modifications, which the edict made in the exercise of the right. Several examples were cited of popes, and other eminent personages, who had waved their clearest rights, rather than provoke a dangerous discussion.

At this time, pope Innocent the eleventh filled the papal chair. He was born in the dominions of Austria : father d'Avrigni describes him as a person warmly attached, in politics, to the interests of that house, and ill-disposed towards France ; easily carried away by first impressions ; inflexible, in what he thought his duty, and had resolved upon ; lofty in his carriage, of great austerity both in principles and conduct, and of repulsive manners. A pope of such a character was likely to be much offended by the king's extension of the regâle, and the acquiescence of the prelates. Immediately on the receipt of the letter, the pope answered it by a very angry brief, in which he reproached the prelates, in severe terms, for their pusillanimity ; annulled their proceedings ; and required them to return to their duty, without delay ; and, in hopes of it, gave them his benediction.

The contents and style of the brief, had been foreseen by the prelates. The public attention was engaged by the dispute ; and the worst consequences were feared, as it was thought improbable, that either the pontiff or the monarch would recede from his pretensions.

Without expecting the answer of the pope, the

prelates petitioned the king to call a national council, or a general assembly of the clergy in France. The king preferred the latter, and it was opened on the 9th of November, in the year 1682, by a solemn high mass, at which Bossuet pronounced an eloquent sermon. He divided it into three parts: the first, was a panegyric on the church in general, and on the church of Rome in particular. In this part of his sermon, he professed to establish the spiritual supremacy conferred on St. Peter, notwithstanding his faults,—faults, he said, which should teach his successors to exercise their great power, with the humility and condescension of which St. Peter left so admirable an example, in the manner in which he listened to St. Paul, when he was reprovèd by him for not walking in the right path, according to the gospel. The second part of Bossuet's sermon, is a panegyric on the king and church of France. Here, he places, in the strongest light, the services rendered by the kings of France, to the holy see, and their constant care to maintain, in their dominions, the rights and powers of the bishops, according to the general councils and institutions of the holy fathers. These, he calls the liberties of the Gallican church; and, by his account, they consist in being subject to the canons, in a religious adherence to them, and a careful preservation of those precious remains of ancient piety.—In the third part of his sermon, Bossuet proceeds to suggest the best means of preventing division and

trouble. The most effectual, he says, of these means, are assemblies of bishops, the natural guardians of the canons and discipline. Thus, a council, held in the province of Lyons, in 1205, stood up against a privilege obtained from Rome, which was thought contrary to order; and thus, the second council of Limoges, in the same century, complained of a sentence, which, in a moment of surprize, John the eighteenth had given, in opposition to the rules of the church. Bossuet quotes other examples of a similar nature; and thus, the church of France, he said, had known, in every age, how to preserve her liberties, without failing in due respect to the see of Rome, the mother and mistress of all churches. In this manner, while Bossuet expressed his respect to the holy see, in the strongest terms, he insensibly disposed the minds of the audience, for the resolutions which should be presented to them.

His sermon has always been admired for its learning and eloquence, and the lucid order of its arrangement. One of the most splendid parts of it, is that in which he describes the beauty and dignity of the church of God.

IV. 4.

The Four Articles of the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy, in 1682.

THE assembly then proceeded to the business before them; and, as it branched into many

different matters, they referred each of them to a separate committee. That, which related to the affair of the regâle, was considered of the greatest importance. M. Gilbert de Choiseul du Plessis-Praslin, bishop of Tournay, was placed at its head. He prepared their report, which is a perfect model of that difficult style of composition.

In all the proceedings of the assembly, Bossuet took the lead, and, on several occasions, moderated the ardour of those, whose suggestions, if followed, would, in all probability, have precipitated it into extreme measures. This is evident, from the life of Bossuet lately published by M. de Baussét, the bishop of Alais, and the biographer of Fenelon, and from the *Nouveaux Opuscules de Fleury*, a recent work, replete with useful information. It contains a very interesting account, drawn up in Latin by Fenelon, of a conversation between Bossuet, and the bishop of Tournay, on the infallibility of the pope.—It took place during the sittings of the assembly, and was communicated by Bossuet to Fenelon. It appears to the writer of these pages, to contain, in a few lines, a clearer view than can be easily found elsewhere, of the doctrine of the Sorbonne, on this head. The bishop of Tournay had been directed, by the assembly, to draw up the proposed articles. In his draught of them, he had asserted, that the apostolic see, as well as the person of the pope, might fall into heresy. This, Bossuet explicitly denied. “But,” replied the bishop of Tournay,

“ if you deny this, you must admit the pope’s
“ infallibility.—Answer me at once.” Bossuet
peremptorily said, “ Can the apostolic see become
“ heretic? If you answer in the affirmative, what
“ becomes of the promise of indefectibility, which,
“ as we are both agreed, was made by Christ
“ to Peter and his successors. If, in the negative,
“ your proposition fails.”—“ Your argument,”
replied the bishop of Tournay, “ proves nothing,
“ because it proves too much. It proves, that the
“ see can define nothing contrary to faith; this is
“ the very infallibility, which the ultramontans
“ ascribe, and which you deny to her. State pre-
“ cisely to me, in what your indefectibility, and the
“ ultramontane infallibility, really differ.”

“ *The apostolic see,*” answered Bossuet, “ *may*
“ *err, in her judgments on faith, but will never*
“ *err, with obstinacy. Other churches will lead*
“ *her back into the true path of the faith; and*
“ *thus, not being obstinate, she will not be hereti-*
“ *cal.* In this manner,” concluded Bossuet, “ while
“ I contend for the indefectibility of the holy see,
“ and thus adhere, without qualification, to the terms
“ of the promise, I do not admit the pretended
“ infallibility of the ultramontans.”

It should seem that this explanation did not satisfy the bishop of Tournay.—As soon as the conversation ended, he withdrew his draught of the articles, and the charge of preparing them was entrusted to Bossuet. The conversation between the prelates,

appears so curious to the writer, that he has inserted both the original, and a version of it, in the Appendix.

The assembly then drew up the celebrated declaration of 1682 : it consists of four articles.

The first article declares, that “ the power
“ which Jesus Christ has given to St. Peter and
“ his successors, vicars of Christ, relates only to
“ spiritual things, and those which concern salvation ; and not to things civil and temporal :
“ so that, in temporals, kings and princes are not
“ subject to the ecclesiastical power ; and cannot,
“ directly or indirectly, be deposed by the power
“ of the keys ; or their subjects discharged by it,
“ from the obedience which they owe to the
“ sovereigns, or from their oaths of allegiance.”

The second article declares, that “ the plenitude of the power, which resides in the holy see
“ and the successors of St. Peter, in respect to
“ spiritual concerns, does not derogate from what
“ the council of Constance has defined, in its fourth
“ and fifth sessions, on the superior authority of
“ general councils.”

The third article declares, that “ the exercise
“ of the apostolical power of the holy see, should be
“ governed by the canons, which have been enacted
“ by the spirit of God, and are respected by all the
“ christian world ; and that the rules, customs and
“ usages, received by the kingdom and churches of

“ France, and approved by the holy see, should be
“ inviolably preserved.”

The fourth article declares, “ that, in questions
“ of faith, the pope has the principal authority,
“ and that his decisions extend over the universal
“ church, and each church in particular ; but that,
“ unless they have the consent of the church, they
“ are not irreformable.”

These articles passed unanimously ; and the monarch was desired to publish them throughout his kingdom. He immediately issued an edict, by which, he ordered the declaration to be registered, by all the parliaments, bailiwicks, stewarties, universities, and faculties of divinity and canon law, within his dominions. The edict forbade all persons, secular or regular, to write or teach any thing contrary to the declaration ; and that no person should be appointed professor of theology, who did not previously engage to teach no other doctrine.

The propriety of these injunctions, either as they emanated from the assembly of the clergy, or as they emanated from the state, is very questionable. The first article, indeed, as it contains a declaration of the independence of the civil on the spiritual power, in temporal concerns, is a profession of the doctrine, on which the principle of allegiance is founded : on this account, the signature of it might be required ; but the three other articles merely express scholastic opinions on points of theology. With these, the state had no right to interfere,

and the church had left them to the judgment of individuals.—Hence, to prescribe to the general body of the Gallican clergy, that they should profess and teach the doctrines expressed by these articles, was a blameable usurpation of authority, both by the assembly and the monarch. Whatever we may think of the doctrines themselves, we must admit, that making them serve for a formulary of religious belief, was an infringement, by a certain number of theologians, of the religious liberty, which, in all such cases, the church of Christ allows the faithful.

IV. 5.

The Contests between the See of Rome and Lewis the fourteenth and the Prelates of France, to which the Declaration of 1682 gave rise.

THE fate of this important document is interesting. At the time of the signature of the declaration, some of the episcopal sees of France were vacant, and vacancies of several others soon afterwards took place. The whole number of the vacancies was thirty-five. Lewis the fourteenth nominated to the vacant sees; but the pope refused to the prelates nominated, their bulls: angry words were spoken; angry writings were published on each side. Matters at length proceeded so far, that twenty-six prelates, who then chanced to be at Paris, were, by the direction of Lewis the fourteenth, convened to the archbishop's palace, to hear the reading of an appeal, made by the procureur-general of the parliament of

Paris, to a future council, from all that the pope should do to the prejudice of the king or the rights of his crown.—Whether the prelates assented to this appeal or approved of it, the writer has not been able to ascertain. It appears certain that Bossuet was not among them. (*Corrections et Additions pour les Nouveaux Opuscules de M. l'abbé Fleury*, p. 12, 13).—While matters remained in this angry and unsettled state, all the states of Europe, as well catholic as protestant, had their eyes fixed on the contest, and waited the result with anxiety. If Innocent the eleventh had been immortal, the difference between him and the monarch would, to use the expression of father d'Avrigni, have been eternal.

But, early in the reign of Alexander the eighth, the immediate successor of Innocent, some hopes of accommodation were entertained. They proved fallacious; and, in 1690, a short time before his death, his holiness published a bull, by which he pronounced the declaration of the assembly of 1682, and the other acts of that assembly, to be absolutely null. Innocent the twelfth, who succeeded Alexander, was of a more conciliatory disposition. An arrangement, but not without difficulty, was effected between him and Lewis the fourteenth. Conformably to the terms of it, each of the prelates, elected to the vacant sees, wrote a submissive letter to the pope, and, on the receipt of it, the pope granted him his bulls. The letter of each

was separate, and expressed in the following terms:
“ Prostrate at the feet of your holiness, we profess
“ and declare, that we are concerned extremely,
“ and more than we can express, at what passed
“ at the assembly of the clergy, and which infinitely
“ displeased your holiness, and your predecessors. Hence, whatever can be considered to
“ have been *decreed* by the assembly, concerning
“ the ecclesiastical power, and the papal authority,
“ we consider as not having been *decreed*; and
“ declare that it should be so considered. Moreover, we hold whatever was deliberated in them,
“ to the prejudice of the rights of churches, as not
“ having been deliberated.”

Lewis himself addressed a letter to the pope, dated on the same day, in which, after a strong profession of duty and regard, he informed his holiness that “ he had given the necessary orders, “ that the directions, contained in his edict, respecting the declaration of the Gallican clergy in “ 1682, to which a particular conjuncture of things “ had given rise, should not be observed.”—It must be added, that, while Lewis the fourteenth lived, the edict was not enforced.

Combining the letters of the sovereign and the prelates of France, with the events, which preceded or followed them, it must be acknowledged that the letters sound very like an absolute retraction of the declaration; and that father d’Avrigni, (*Memoires Chronologiques et Dog-*

matiques, vol. III. p. 407), had strong ground for expressing this opinion of them.

On the other hand, it is contended, that the letters amount, and were considered, even by the pope himself, to amount to no more, than a civil and conciliatory expression of the supposed concern of the writers, at their having concurred in a measure, which, without entering into any discussion of its propriety, they regretted, on account of its having displeased his holiness; and to a disclaimer of what the declaration was said to intimate, and what was considered to have given particular offence to his holiness, any intention of assuming to themselves the right of *decreeing* articles of belief to the whole christian church. The language of the letters will bear this interpretation: it is supported by two authorities, each of which may be thought decisive; it is also supported by a very strong fact.

The first of these authorities, is Bossuet. He assigns this sense to the letters, in the *Gallia Orthodoxa*, (p. 6 and 10), a work written long after the controversy had subsided, and evidently composed with much reflection and care. In the last of the passages, to which we have referred, while he seems to treat the declaration itself, very lightly, he pertinaciously and explicitly adopts and insists on the principle, on which it is founded. "Let us," he says, "leave the declaration to its fate: we have not, as we have thought proper to

“ profess repeatedly, undertaken its defence in this
 “ place. The ancient doctrine of the Parisian
 “ divines, is unshaken, and uncensurable. *Abeat*
 “ *ergo declaratio quo libuerit; non enim eam,*
 “ *quod sæpe profiteri juvat, tutandum hic susce-*
 “ *pimus: Manet inconcussa et censuræ omnis*
 “ *expers, prisca illa sententia Parisiensium.*”

The other authority, to which we have referred, and which certainly is an authority of great weight, is that of the chancellor d'Aguésseau. In a memoir, expressly written by him, on this subject, and published in the 13th volume of his works, (p. 417), he says, that “ the terms of the letter, “ addressed, by the bishops to the pope, were so “ managed, that they could be considered only as “ an expression of the sorrow, which the bishops “ felt, on learning the preventions entertained by “ the pope against them, in consequence of what “ had passed in the assembly of the clergy, met at “ Paris in 1682:—but, that they did not acknow- “ ledge these preventions were well-founded.”

In the same memoir, the chancellor d'Aguésseau relates the fact, to which we have referred. He states that, in 1713, Lewis the fourteenth having nominated the abbé de St. Aignan, to the bishopric of Beauvais, the pope caused it to be intimated to the monarch, that, “ having been “ informed, that the abbé had defended, in 1705, “ in a public thesis, the four propositions, con- “ tained in the declaration of 1682, his holiness

“ would not grant him his bulls, unless he re-
“ tracted the propositions.” Upon this, Lewis the
fourteenth wrote, to the cardinal de Tremouille,
a respectful, but firm letter, dated the 7th of July
1713. He desires him to represent to his holiness,
“ how honourably and punctually on his part, his
“ agreement, not to enforce his edict, respecting
“ the Gallican declaration of 1682, had been per-
“ formed : that, by the terms of the concordat,
“ no person named by a king of France to a bene-
“ fice, could be refused his bulls, unless he was
“ convicted of heresy : and that his holiness was
“ too enlightened to take upon him to declare,
“ that the maxims, which the church of France
“ follows, were heretical. Pope Innocent the
“ twelfth,” says his majesty, “ did not ask me to
“ abandon them, when I terminated with him, the
“ difference, which had begun during the papacy
“ of Innocent the eleventh. The present pope,
“ who was one of the chief ministers of that pon-
“ tiff, knows better than any other person, that
“ the only engagement, into which I entered, was
“ not to cause my edict of 1682 to be executed. I
“ have compelled no one to profess, contrary to his
“ principles, the propositions of the French clergy ;
“ but it is not just,”—(*a golden maxim*),—“ that I
“ should restrain my subjects from uttering and sup-
“ porting their individual sentiments on a matter,
“ in which a person may lawfully choose his side,
“ (as he may on many other theological questions),

“ without the slightest attack on any of the articles
 “ of faith.”—This letter was communicated to
 the pope, and his holiness immediately granted
 the bulls to the abbé, without requiring from him,
 any retractation.—It may be added that father
 d’Avrigni candidly observes, that “ the clergy of
 “ France took no step, as a body, in the proceed-
 “ ings of the thirteen prelates ; that the parlia-
 “ ment always acted on the ground, that the four
 “ articles were so essential to the privileges of the
 “ Gallican church, that they could not be departed
 “ from ; and that, subsequently to the letter writ-
 “ ten by Lewis the fourteenth to the pope, the
 “ four articles were maintained, on different occa-
 “ sions, both in books, and in theses, in the life-
 “ time of the monarch,—a proof, that he had not
 “ intended to renounce them, by his letter.”
 (*Mem. Chro. et Dog. vol. III. p. 409*).

But, though Lewis the fourteenth, from the
 time of his addressing to the pope the letter, which
 we have mentioned, did not actually compel the
 execution of his edict in favour of the declaration
 of 1682, yet, did the parliaments of France pro-
 ceed, even during his reign, against those, who
 openly infringed it : and, after his decease, they
 enforced its observance with great activity. They
 considered the declaration so essential to the liberty
 of the Gallican church, that it was not allowable
 to depart from it ; and they took every opportunity
 which offered, of acting up to this principle, in the

same manner as if Lewis the fourteenth had never suspended the operation of his edict. The consequence was, that the whole clergy of France, both secular and regular, taught, in all their public schools, the doctrine of the declaration.

When the expulsion of the jesuits was in agitation, the French government sent certain questions respecting them to all the bishops in France; the second of these questions was,—“ How the
“ jesuits behaved in their instructions and in their
“ own conduct, with regard to certain opinions
“ which strike at the safety of the king’s person ;
“ as likewise with regard to the received doctrine
“ of the clergy of France, contained in the declaration of the year 1682 ; and, in general, with
“ regard to the opinions on the other side of the
“ Alps?”—To this question, the prelates replied at length, and concluded their reply by saying, that, “ the behaviour of the jesuits in the year
“ 1682, and the declarations, which they had lately
“ made to the prelates, and which the jesuits desired to have registered at the respective offices
“ in the spiritual courts of the prelates, as a lasting
“ and authentic testimony of their loyalty and
“ fidelity, left no room to doubt of their abhorrence
“ and detestation of any doctrine or opinion that
“ might, in any wise, trench upon the safety of the
“ sacred person of sovereignty ; or of their entire
“ acquiescence in the maxims, established by the

“ clergy of France, in the four articles of 1682.”— See Mr. Dallas’s *New Conspiracy against the Jesuits detected and exposed, Appendix, No. II.*

It has been surmised, that, besides those who subscribed the letter to Innocent the twelfth, several of the prelates of France, sent privately to Rome, if not a retractation of the declaration, at least an apology for their concurrence in it.

Bossuet was not among them.—In defence of the declaration, he composed “ *La France Orthodoxe ou Apologie de l’Ecole de Paris, et du Clergé de France, contre plusieurs ‘Adversaires.’*”—By the desire of Lewis the fourteenth, he afterwards composed his large work, “ *Defence de la Declaration du Clergé de France de 1682, touchant la Puissance ecclesiastique.*” Neither of these works were published in the lifetime of Bossuet; the last was written by him in Latin, and translated into French, by the abbé Le Roy, under the direction of Bossuet’s nephew, the bishop of Troyes, to whom he bequeathed the manuscript. The Italian divines took great offence at the latter work, and denounced it to Clement the twelfth. This circumstance is noticed in a brief of Benedict the fourteenth, dated the 21st of July 1748.—After mentioning the work, and admitting it to have proceeded from the pen of Bossuet, “ It is difficult,” says the pope, “ to find any other work, so hostile to the doctrine

“ received every where, except in France, respecting
 “ the absolute infallibility of the pope, speaking *ex*
 “ *cathedrá* ; or respecting his superiority over every
 “ œcumenical council, or his indirect dominion over
 “ the temporal rights of supreme princes, if the
 “ great good of religion and the church require
 “ it. In the time of our immediate predecessor
 “ Clement the twelfth of blessed memory, it was
 “ seriously deliberated whether the work should
 “ not be condemned ; and it was finally resolved
 “ in the negative, both from regard to the memory
 “ of an author, deserving so highly of religion, and
 “ from the fear of giving rise to new discussions.

IV. 6.

Alleged indirect Censure of the Declaration, by Pius the sixth, the last pope, in his bull condemning the proceedings of the synod at Pistoia.

IN 1794, the See of Rome may be thought
 to have indirectly censured the declaration of the
 Gallican clergy in 1682. The bishop of Pistoia
 had convened in 1786 a synod of his clergy, and
 afterwards published the acts of his synod. Pope
 Pius the sixth extracted from them eighty-five pro-
 positions, and condemned them, by a brief dated the
 28th of April 1794, and beginning with the words
Auctorem Fidei, from which it takes its general
 title. The pope mentions in it, the declaration of
 1682 in the following terms : “ Nor should we, in

“ silence, pass over the notorious, and most fraudulent rashness of the synod, which has dared, not only to adorn with the highest praises, the declaration of the Gallican assembly of 1682, long since condemned by our predecessors,—but, with a view of increasing the authority of that declaration, has dared to insert it insidiously, in its decree, entitled, *of faith*, and openly to adopt, into that decree, the articles, of which the declaration consists; and thus, by a public and solemn profession of the doctrine of those articles, has dared to seal them, in the doctrine spread through the decree of the synod. This certainly gives us not only greater reason to complain of the synod, than our predecessors had to complain of the assembly of 1682; but it is also an insult to the Gallican church, whose authority it invokes, to patronize the errors, with which the decree of the synod is contaminated.

“ Wherefore, as the acts of the Gallican assembly were condemned, as soon as they appeared, by our venerable predecessors Innocent the eleventh, in a letter dated the 11th of April 1682, in the form of a brief, and more explicitly condemned by Alexander the eighth, by the constitution *Inter multiplices*, dated the 4th of August 1690, in the discharge of his pastoral duty; so, our pastoral solicitude requires the more forcibly of us, to reprobate and condemn

“ the synod’s most vicious adoption of these articles, as rash, and scandalous, and, (particularly after the many decrees published against them by our predecessors), as highly injurious to the holy see, and we accordingly, by this our constitution, reprobate and condemn them, and will that they should be reprobated and condemned.”

It is contended by the favourers of transalpine principles, that this passage in the bull of Pope Pius the sixth, is a condemnation of the declaration of the Gallican clergy. But the advocates of the declaration observe, that, though the bull repeats, or rather refers to the condemnation of the declaration by other popes, it expresses no *new* censure of it: 2dly, that the bull only censures the insidious use, which the synod had made of the declaration; and 3dly, that the bull has not yet been accepted by the universal body of the church.

IV. 7.

An Argument, drawn by the Cisalpine Divines in favour of the Declaration, from the conduct of Cardinal Caprara, the Legate from Pius the seventh, the present pope, to Buonaparte.

THE Cisalpine divines also strenuously contend, that the liberties of the Gallican church, and of course, the doctrines of the declaration, have been unequivocally recognized by Pius the seventh, in his transactions with Buonaparte.

They admit, that, in the *concordat* between the pope and Buonaparte the declaration is not mentioned, in express terms,—but they observe that, in the *Articles Organiques*, it is said, (Article 24, of the 3d section), “Those, who shall be appointed
“ to teach in the seminaries, shall subscribe the
“ declaration of 1682, and bind themselves to
“ teach the doctrine contained in them.”—In the first article of the 1st title, it is said, “that no
“ bull or expedition of the see of Rome, shall be
“ received, printed or executed, without the au-
“ thority of government :”—and the sixth article of the 1st title prohibits “every infringement of
“ the liberties, franchises, or customs, of the
“ church of France, or the rules or canons re-
“ ceived in France.”—This argument would certainly have great weight, if the authenticity of the *Articles Organiques* should be established : but, at present, it appears, to the writer of these pages, quite clear, that the pope never assented to those articles, and that he protested against them, as soon as they came to his knowledge : this will be shewn in a further part of this work.

The cisalpine divines contend further, that, though Pius the seventh, did not by any special bull approve the four articles of the declaration of 1682, and, what are termed the liberties of the Gallican church, yet he must be considered to have approved them virtually,—as the cardinal Caprara, his *legate a latere*, entrusted with his powers, and

sent by him to Paris, to accelerate the convention between him and Buonaparte, publicly pronounced, before Buonaparte, and afterwards took and subscribed an oath of the following tenor; "I swear
"and promise that I will not derogate, in any
"manner, from the rights, liberties and privileges
"of the Gallican church." Now, whether Pius the seventh consented, in the convention between himself and Buonaparte, that the principles established by the four articles of the declaration of 1682, should be taught and followed in France, as before,—or whether his legate, duly authorized, and acting in his name, or at least, under his authority, consented to this arrangement, and was not either called or disavowed,—it equally follows, say the cisalpine divines, that neither the pope nor his legate saw any thing, either in the declaration of 1682, or in the liberties of the Gallican church, contrary to faith or sound doctrine. This is forcibly urged in the *Memoirs addressed to the pope by the French bishops residing in London, assigning their motives for refusing to resign their bishoprics*; by a similar letter of the bishops residing in Germany; by the *Reclamations Canonique, signed by the thirty-eight French bishops*, and by the *Examen impartial et paisible, of the abbé Chateaugiron*.

CHAP. V.

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

By the edict of Nantes, Henry the fourth granted to the Hugonots, the free exercise of their religion, and placed them nearly on an equality of civil rights, with his other subjects. The pastors were salarised at the expense of the state; their churches were allowed to chuse deputies, who were to hold assemblies for regulating their internal concerns; and they were permitted to retain some fortified towns, and garrison them with troops of their own persuasion, as a security for the observance of the edict. With some jealousy on the side of the catholics, and some discontent on the side of the hugonots, the edict was observed, during the reign of Henry the fourth, without either party's having any just cause of complaint. The edict was confirmed by his successor, immediately after his accession to the throne; but the hugonots were discountenanced, and had a very small share of the favours of government, or the smiles of the court. This naturally increased their discontent: it was fomented by the different parties, who contended for the favour of the crown, and who regularly patronised the hugonots, while they were in opposition, and regularly neglected them, when they came into administration. At length,

the hugonots broke into an open war; they were supported by the English, but the war was soon terminated by the taking of la Rochelle. The hugonots were then obliged to deliver up their fortified towns. In other respects, the edict remained in force; and it was confirmed to them by Lewis the fourteenth, on his accession to the throne.

But the extinction of the hugonot religion, in every part of his dominions, was one of that monarch's most favourite projects; and was pursued by him, through the whole of his reign, with undeviating attention. By his direction, all means of favour and exclusion were put in practice to make proselytes. The ministers of the hugonots were laid, in the exercise of their duties, under many restraints; their consistories and synods were seldom allowed to meet; their schools of theology and philosophy were broken up, and seven hundred of their churches were taken from them or demolished. Finally,—by an edict of the 23d of October 1685, Lewis the fourteenth absolutely revoked the edict of Nantes; and, by a second edict of the same day, interdicted wholly, to the hugonots, the public exercise of their religion, ordered the ministers to quit the kingdom, employed priests to educate the children in the catholic religion, and commanded all the intendants of provinces and governors of towns to cause the edict to be rigidly enforced. Some of them exceeded their

instructions, and, under the pretence of preserving their priests from insult, and compelling the children to attend at mass and public instructions, distributed soldiers in the principal places, inhabited by hugonots, and connived at their outrages. The soldiers were chiefly taken out of the dragoon companies; which gave their employment the appellation of the dragonâde. To subtract themselves from this persecution, many families quitted France, and, dispersing themselves in the protestant states, enriched them with their arts and industry, and made them resound with their execrations of their tyrannical persecutor.—Probably, however, the number of these families has been greatly exaggerated.

It is generally supposed that the edict of revocation ordered all the protestants to quit France; but, with the exception of the ministers, the reverse is the fact. The edict expressly directed, that, “until it should please God to enlighten them, the protestants might remain in the kingdom, continue their commerce, and enjoy their property without molestation or hindrance on account of their religion.” As soon as the disposition to emigrate was observed, great precautions to prevent it were used. But, the ministers of the protestant churches were ordered to quit the kingdom, all public exercise of their religion was denied to the protestants, and, as they were prohibited to solemnize marriage, except

according to the rites of the catholic church, marriage was virtually interdicted to them. This was a tremendous persecution, and an urgent motive to emigrate. It should not, however, be forgotten, that, there was not a protestant state, which had not enacted severer laws against their catholic subjects.

It may be added, that the number of those, who quitted France, in consequence of the edict, has been much exaggerated. Rabaut de St. Etienne, (*Assemblée Continuant, dixième édition, p. 17*), computes them at 500,000 or 600,000. The king of Prussia, (*Memoires de la Maison de Brandebourg*), computes them at 400,000. Basnage, (*Unité de l'Eglise, p. 120*), computes them at 300,000, or 400,000,—such expressions are too vague, to be entitled to any credit; La Martiniere, (*Histoire de Louis XIV. L. 6, p. 327*), computes them at 300,000. Larrey, (*Histoire d'Angleterre, tom. iv. p. 664*), and Bênoist, (*Histoire de la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes, part. v. p. 1014*), computes them at 200,000.—All these writers are protestants.—Two roman-catholic writers considerably lessen the number: the duke of Burgundy in a memoir, printed by M. Proyard, (*Vie du Duc de Bourgogne, tom. II. p. 208*), declares, that, after much enquiry, the number, by the most exaggerated calculation, was found to amount to 67,732, and previously to the publication of this memoir, the abbé

Caveyrac, in his *Apologie de Louis XIV. et de son Conseil sur la Revocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, p. 72), contends; certainly with great plausibility, that the number did not reach 50,000. Four circumstances,—the severe precautions used to prevent the emigration,—the small amount of the property of the emigrants, which was confiscated,—the number of protestants, who remained in France,—and the lenient measures, soon adopted by the court, add greatly to the probability of the two last calculations.—To his immortal honour; Lewis the sixteenth; by his edict of the 17th of November 1787, accorded to all his non-catholic subjects, the full and complete enjoyment of all the rights of his roman-catholic subjects. On a division in the parliament; this edict was registered by a majority of ninety-six votes against sixteen. A very good, and the writer believes, a candid account of this edict of revocation, is given by M. Baussét, in his *Life of Bossuet*, tom. iv. livre onzième.

This persecution of the hugonots was condemned by the greatest and best men in France. M. d'Aguésseau, the father of the celebrated chancellor; resigned his office of intendant of Languedoc, rather than witness it. His son repeatedly mentions it with abhorrence. Fenelon, Flechier and Bossuet, confessedly the ornaments of the Gallican church, lamented it. To the utmost of their power, they prevented the execution of the edict, and softened

its severities, when they could not prevent them. Monsieur Baussét, in his *Life of Bossuet*, tom. iv. p. 141, says that “all the papers of Bossuet and his “ secretary had been under his eyes;” and that “he found Bossuet, invariably of opinion, that no “ other means but kindness, instruction, and beneficence should be employed in reuniting protestants to the church of Rome:” and that, “there “ was not a single circumstance, which shewed, that “ he took any part in any measure, that preceded, “ or in any that immediately followed the revocation of the edict of Nantes.”—In conformity to these principles, “government,” (*ibid.* 83), “by “ the direction of Bossuet, printed at the public “ expense, 50,000 copies of the translation of the “ New Testament, by father Amelotte, and the “ same number of the prayers of the liturgy, “ translated into French. By the king’s order “ they were distributed in the provinces.”

This practical condemnation of the resort to temporal power, in effecting religious conversion, does all these illustrious characters the greater honour, as the doctrine of religious toleration was, at that time, little understood. It is painful to add, that, in a studied letter, written to M. de Basville, intendant of Languedoc, (*Ben. ed. vol. x. p. 293*), Bossuet seems to admit, in theory, the general right of christian princes, to enforce acts of religious conformity, by wholesome severities; and

thus allowed them, for effecting a spiritual good, a resort to temporal means, which the divine founder of the christian faith so explicitly disclaimed for himself. It is also painful to add, that this appears to have been the opinion of Flechier; but it is pleasing to mention, that the contrary opinion was most explicitly avowed by Fenelon.— This is clearly shewn in the life of that prelate by the writer of these pages.

It is also due to the memory of Louis the fourteenth, to observe that, in this very undue exercise of his royal power, he was greatly to be pitied, as the grossest misrepresentations, particularly in respect to the dragonâde, were used to lead him into it.

From Monsieur Baussét's *Life of Bossuet*, the *Ecclarissimens Historiques sur les Causes de la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes, et sur l'Etat de Protestants en France*, of M. de Ruhlières, and the *Life of Bossuet*, by M. Baussét, ancien Evêque d'Alais, 3 vol. (p. 38—148), it seems evident, that Lewis the fourteenth was induced to believe, that the number of protestants was much smaller; that the conversion of them would be much more rapid, more general and sincere; and the methods of hastening their conversion much less violent than they really were. It redounds still more to his honour, that, as soon as he began to perceive the true state of the transaction, he felt a

real concern for the sufferers, and though, from a mistaken principle, he would not revoke the edict, he wished it not to be put into activity.

CHAP. VI.

QUIETISM.

THE errors of the Quietists may be traced to the Gnostics.—They were renewed, in the middle of the sixteenth century, by Michael Molinos, a Spanish priest. They are reducible to three principles; 1st. That perfect contemplation is a state, in which a man does not reason, or reflect, either on God or on himself; but, in a state of perfect inaction, receives the impressions of heavenly light, altogether passively, and without exercising any acts of religious belief or devotion: this state of the soul, he calls *quiet*: 2dly, That, in this state, the soul desires nothing, not even her own salvation; and fears nothing, not even hell: and 3dly, That the use of prayer, of the sacraments, and of good works, then becomes indifferent.

It is evident that these principles lead to frightful consequences, both in theory and practice. They were condemned by pope Innocent the tenth; the author of them was imprisoned at Rome, and retracted his errors.

With some modifications, but rather in language, than reality, his system was adopted by Madame Guion, a French lady of a respectable family. With a still further modification, or rather, with a refined explanation of it, and with an explicit rejection of all the erroneous consequences deducible from it, the system was adopted by the celebrated Fenelon, and expounded by him, with great ingenuity, in his *Maximes des Saints*. He met with a powerful adversary in Bossuet. The *Maximes des Saints* was submitted to pope Innocent the twelfth: it was condemned by him, on the 12th of March, 1699; and, on the 9th of the following April, it was condemned by the author himself, without restriction or reserve.

“ It stands,” says the chancellor d’Aguésseau, “ a solitary example in history, of a controversy upon a point of doctrine, which one single sentence terminated in the instant; without its reproduction in any other form, and without any attempt to revive it by power, or elude it by distinctions. The whole merit is due to Fenelon.”

In the account, which the writer of these pages has given of quietism, in his Life of Fenelon, he has endeavoured to present his readers with a succinct view of the interesting contest upon it, between that prelate and Bossuet, and to hold the scales between the great antagonists with impartiality. Since the publication of that little work, he has

perused two publications of great importance, on the subject, *The Life of Bossuet, by M. de Baussét*, and *Lettres à M. de Baussét, pour servir de supplément à l'Histoire de Fenelon, by the abbé Tabaraud, an oratorian*. The perusal of these works has not altered the opinion, which, in his *Life of Fenelon*, the author ventured to intimate on the conduct of the prelates. The work of the abbé Tabaraud is better calculated to serve the cause of Bossuet, than the work of Bossuet's professed biographer.

“ But,” to repeat the writer's words in his short reference to this controversy in his *Life of Bossuet*, —
 “ On the failings of such men it is painful to
 “ dwell: the best reflection, suggested by them,
 “ seems to be that, with which father Bourdaloue
 “ opens the part of his funeral oration on the
 “ prince of Condé, which turns on the failings of
 “ his hero.

“ There is not,” says that eloquent preacher,
 “ a luminary in the heavens, which does not some-
 “ times suffer an eclipse; and the sun, which is
 “ the most splendid of them, suffers the greatest
 “ and most remarkable. Two circumstances in
 “ them particularly deserve our consideration,—
 “ one, that in these eclipses, the sun suffers no
 “ substantial loss of light, and preserves its re-
 “ gular course; the other, that, during the time
 “ of its eclipse, the universe contemplates it with

“ most interest, and watches its variations with
“ most attention.—The prince, whom we lament,
“ had his eclipses: it would be idle to attempt to
“ conceal them: they were as visible as his glory.
“ But he never lost the principles of rectitude,
“ which ruled his heart. These preserved him, in
“ his wanderings, and restored him to religion and
“ virtue, so greatly to his own honour, and to our
“ benefit.”

The faults of Fenelon and Bossuet, in their unfortunate controversy, are entitled to the same benign mention. The lustre of their characters attracted universal attention; and made their errors both more observable, and more observed. But the eclipse was temporary, and the golden flood was unimpaired: those, who are most disposed to be severe, should reflect on this circumstance. On a little self-examination, they will generally find, that, if themselves be not equally exposed to public censure, it is less owing to the undeviating rectitude of their conduct, than the happy obscurity of their destinies.

CHAP VII.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE DISPUTES ON THE FIVE PROPOSITIONS, EXTRACTED FROM THE AUGUSTINUS OF JANSENIUS, BISHOP OF IPRES.

THE disputes on Jansenism may be divided into two stages;—the first, comprises the history of the five propositions of Jansenius; the second, the history of the bull *Unigenitus*. These disputes originated in circumstances which long preceded the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, and their consequences are still too discernible.

To present the reader with an accurate view of the first stage of this very interesting part of the history of the church of France, we shall, I. First, succinctly state the doctrine of the roman-catholic church, on grace and free-will: II. Then, notice the heresy of Pelagius: III. The doctrines of Baius and Molina: IV. The publication of the *Augustinus* of Jansenius, and its condemnation by pope Urban the eighth: V. The five propositions extracted from it: VI. The successive condemnations of them by the popes Innocent the tenth, and Alexander the seventh: VII. The polemic warfare, to which the condemnation of them gave rise: VIII. The Port-royalists: IX. Lewis the fourteenth's persecution of the Jansenists: X. The peace of pope Clement the ninth, generally called

the pacification of the church of France : XI. And the promulgation of the bull *Vineam Domini*.

VII. 1.

The Doctrine of the Roman-catholic Church, on Grace and Free-will.

IN every age of Christianity, the learned have attempted to sound the abysses of grace and free-will ; and, in their exertions and failures, have shewn sometimes the strength, but oftener the weakness, of human reason. The difficulty is to discover a system, which, reconciling the goodness of God, with natural and moral evil, makes the good works of men, at the same time meritorious in the eye of the Almighty, whilst yet they remain his pure and absolute gifts.—“ It is difficult,” writes the bishop of Alais, in his *Life of Fenelon, tom. II. append. p. 610*, “ to say any thing more exact or
 “ more judicious on this subject, than what was
 “ written during the controversy on jansenism, by
 “ one of the most distinguished prelates of the
 “ Gallican church,—Gilbert de Choiseul, afterwards archbishop of Tournay, a brother to the
 “ mareschal Dapléssis-Praslin ;”—It is expressed in the following terms.

“ 1. I believe, that the grace of Jesus Christ is
 “ necessary to us, for all actions of piety and
 “ Christian virtues. I believe we should ask it of
 “ God.

“ 2. I believe, that, with grace, all the commandments of God are possible to us ; and, that without it, we cannot do any thing that is good ; and, that we cannot persevere in good, except by a special grace.

“ 3. I believe, that grace prevents and aids our wills ; that we owe our salvation to God ; that our falls ought to be imputed to ourselves.

“ 4. I believe, that grace strengthens our free-will, and does not destroy it.

“ 5. I believe, that our free-will, in co-operating with grace, ought not to take glory to itself, but keep itself in humiliation, acknowledging its own inability, if left to itself.

“ 6. Beyond these truths, I acknowledge my ignorance on the subject ; and, when they shall ask me, How grace is allied to our free-will ? how God acts in us, and with us ? why he draws out one from the mass of perdition, and leaves the others ? why some do, and some do not persevere ? I shall acknowledge freely, that I know not. I even believe, that no person knows ; and that it is owing to our pride, that we cannot bring ourselves to confess, that we are ignorant even of those things, the knowledge of which God has reserved to himself.—Let us humble ourselves, in acknowledging the impenetrability of his secrets and judgments.”

VII. 2.

Pelagianism.

UNFORTUNATELY, in their discussions on these abstruse subjects, some theologians did not keep themselves within those bounds of modesty and circumspection, which religion and good sense equally prescribe.

In the beginning of the fifth century, Pelagius maintained, that, in the choice and execution of good, man acts independently of divine grace. This gave rise to an heresy, which derives its name from him. St. Augustin was the successful advocate of grace against Pelagius. St. Thomas of Aquin adopted the principles of St. Augustin, moulded them into a scholastic form, and, as the Dominicans, to whose order he belonged, generally assert, improved upon his system. At the reformation, the celebrated John Calvin professed to adopt the doctrine of St. Augustin ; but, pushing it beyond its bearings, aggravated it into the dreary doctrine of absolute predestination. Between the systems of Pelagius and Calvin, the faith of Christ remained on the unshaken rock, in which its divine founder established it. On each side some opinions floated, which the orthodox might securely embrace : but, it has sometimes happened, that the champion of grace found himself within the verge of calvinism ;

and the champion of free-will, within the verge of pelagianism.

Such are the difficulties of the subject, that in reply to the objections, pressed upon him in the discussion of it, St. Augustin frequently gives no other answer, than exclaiming with St. Paul, "O! the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! His judgments, how unsearchable! His ways, how past belief."—The good Christian always imitated this modest confession of ignorance. He felt the subject was beyond his reason: the day, he knew, would come, when, (Psalm 50, v. 5), "the Almighty would be judged, and would overcome."

VII. 3.

Baius and Molina.

TOWARDS the end of the sixteenth century, Michael Baius, a professor of theology at Louvain, published a thesis, containing several positions on the doctrine of grace. Some propositions extracted from them, were denounced at Rome, and condemned: they were afterwards retracted by the author. He allowed too much to grace, and too little to free-will.

In 1598, Molina, a Spanish jesuit, took the opposite side of the question. The Spanish Dominicans sounded the alarm against his system, as

allowing too much to free-will, and too little to grace.

The cause was carried to Rome. A congregation of cardinals, called from the object of their formation, "The Congregation de Auxiliis," or "The Congregation on the succours of grace," was appointed to hear the charge. During the space of ten years, the subject was argued before them two hundred times. At length, Paul the fifth, in 1607, pronounced a decree, justly entitled to the praise of good sense and moderation. It permitted the two schools to teach their respective opinions, but enjoined them to abstain from mutual censure and crimination. His holiness may be supposed to have considered, that, on every point on which the church had decided, both schools agreed and rejected the opposite doctrine; and that, in their passage to their conclusions, they might be left very much at large. It is observable, that Bossuet, who, in the school disputes on divine grace, was a Thomist, blamed the disciples of St. Thomas, for endeavouring to obtain a papal bull, to establish the system of that saint, on divine grace, as a rule of doctrine. (*Baussét, Hist. de Bossuet, l. i. §. 21*).

VII. 4.

The Augustinus.

AFTER a lapse of twenty-two years from the last meeting of the congregation, *de Auxiliis*, Jansenius,

bishop of Ipres, completed a treatise, in which he was accused of adopting the system of Baius. He did not live to publish it: with his dying hand, he wrote a letter to pope Urban the eighth, in which, in the most absolute and unqualified terms, he submitted his work to the holy see. He professed to follow in it, the system of St. Augustin. It is said, that he had perused thirty times, all the writings of that voluminous father; and employed twenty years in the composition of his work. From St. Augustin he entitled it, *Augustinus Cornelii Jansensii Episcopi; seu Doctrina sancti Augustini de humanæ naturæ sanitate ægritudine medicâ, adversus Pelagianos.*

It was published, by two of his disciples at Louvain in 1640. The best edition of it is that of Rheims, in 1652.

In the year which immediately followed the first appearance of the Augustinus, it was condemned by pope Urban the eighth. By a bull, dated the month of March of that year, after renewing and confirming the constitutions of Pius the fifth and Gregory the thirteenth; and the décrées of Paul the fifth, which forbade all discussions on the subject of grace, and, after noticing his own decrees to the same effect, his holiness declared, that the Augustinus of Jansenius contained, to the great scandal of catholics, and the great contempt of the holy see, many of the propositions, which had been condemned by his predecessors.

The divines of Louvain did not, universally, acquiesce in the bull. Warm disputes on the subject ensued; and they were not confined to that city.

VII. 5.

The Five Propositions.

IN 1649, the Sorbonne, on the motion of M. Cornét, doctor of the College of Navarre, condemned six propositions on the subject of grace. Their condemnation rather intimated, than explicitly asserted, that they were contained in the Augustinus. They were afterwards reduced to the five propositions which follow.

“ 1. Some of the commandments of God are
“ impossible to just men, even when they desire
“ and strive to accomplish them, according to their
“ natural strength,—and, the grace, by which
“ those commandments become possible to them,
“ is wanting to them.

“ 2. In the state of corrupted nature, one never
“ resists interior grace.

“ 3. To merit and demerit, in the state of corrupted nature, a liberty, which excludes the necessity of acting, is not required in man; a liberty, which excludes constraint, is sufficient.

“ 4. The semi-pelagians admitted the necessity
“ of an interior and preventing grace, for every
“ particular act, even for the commencement of
“ faith; and they were heretics in requiring this.

“ grace to be such, as human nature had power to resist or obey.

“ 5. It is semi-pelagianism to say, that Jesus Christ is dead, or has shed his blood for all men without exception.”

VII. 6.

Condemnations of the Five Propositions.

THESE five propositions have been repeatedly condemned : their condemnations by pope Innocent the tenth, and Alexander the seventh, should be particularly noticed.

In 1650, eighty-five bishops of France, to whom three others afterwards adhered, denounced the five propositions to *Innocent the tenth*, and requested his holiness to pronounce on them immediately, a clear and decisive judgment. At the same time, eleven others wrote to him to dissuade him from the measure. After a long and full examination of the five propositions, his holiness, in compliance with the request of the eighty-five prelates, by a bull, dated the 31st of May 1653, condemned the four first, as heretical ; the last, as false, rash and scandalous, and also as heretical, if it were understood to mean, that Jesus Christ died for the salvation of the predestinated only.

It is admitted by the adversaries of Jansenius, (*D'Avrigni, Hist. Chro. et Dog. vol. II. p. 266*), that the pope, when he announced his bull, declared the five propositions had nothing in common with

the doctrines of St. Augustin, or St. Thomas. They also admit that all the propositions do not exist in the Augustinus, literally : but, they consider them to form the whole essence of his system. “I believe,” says Bossuet, in a letter to the mareschal de Bellefonds, “that the five propositions truly exist “ in Jansenius ; and that they are the soul of the “ book. All that is said to the contrary, appears “ to me mere chicane, and a device to elude the “ judgment of the church.”

The bull of Innocent the tenth, was accepted in France and Flandres, and by every other roman-catholic church. The parliament of Paris registered it without any opposition.

To evade the effect of this bull, the advocates of the Augustinus had recourse to *their first distinction*. They admitted that the five propositions were justly condemned *, but maintained that the bull had not declared, and consequently did not require the faithful to believe, that the Augustinus contained the five propositions, in the sense, in which they were condemned. The former, they termed, the *matter of right*, the latter, the *matter of fact*.

This distinction was immediately opposed. Car-

* This M. Dumas, in his *Histoire des Cinq Propositions de Jansenius*, Liege, 1699, p. 72, seems to admit. “ La Bulle “ d’Innocent X. a eu du moins ce bon effet, que depuis, il “ ne s’est presque trouvé personne, hors les calvinistes, qui “ ont ouvertement soutenu les cinq propositions ; et que “ ceux, qui les soutenoient auparavant, se sont retranchés, “ comme nous l’avons dit, a nier que ce fut la doctrine de “ Jansenius.”

dinal Mazarin, perceiving the agitation, which the disputes on it began to produce, caused an assembly of all the bishops, who were then at Paris, to be convened, and referred the *Augustinus* and the questions, which arose on it, to their consideration. They proceeded to a serious perusal and discussion of the work, and concluded, that in the proper and obvious meaning of the words, it contained the five propositions, and that it had been condemned, as containing them. Their conclusion was approved by the pope; and, by a bull, dated the 20th of September 1654, “ he declared that, in the five propositions, “ he had condemned the doctrine of Jansenius, as “ contained in his book, intitled *Augustinus*.” In the following January, his holiness died.—He was succeeded by *Alexander the seventh*.

The dispute continuing, that pontiff issued a bull, dated the 16th of October 1657, by which, he confirmed the bulls of his predecessor on the doctrine of Jansenius. Then, after mentioning, that, “ he had “ assisted at all the congregations, assembled for the “ examination of the five propositions, he attested, “ that they had been extracted from the work of “ Jansenius, and condemned in the sense, in which “ the doctor had explained them.”

On the 14th of the month of March in the following year, the bull of Alexander the seventh, was presented to the assembly of the clergy of France, which was then sitting at Paris. On the 17th of

the same month, a special meeting of the assembly was called. Forty-five prelates, and ten deputies of the second order of clergy attended it. The assembly accepted the bull, and directed that it should be published and executed, by the prelates, in all their dioceses; that those, who should prove refractory, or teach a contrary doctrine, should be proceeded against, with rigour; that a formulary of an acceptance of the bull should be subjoined to the bull, and that the prelates should be recommended to procure, within a month, the subscription of the formulary, by their clergy. A copy of a proposed formulary was inserted in their subscriptions.

This declaration of the clergy was received unanimously by the faculty of theology at Paris.

In aid of these ecclesiastical exertions, Lewis the fourteenth published an edict, dated the 19th of the following April, by which he enjoined all the prelates in his kingdom to sign the formulary, and cause it to be signed, without distinction, explanation or restriction, by all ecclesiastics, secular and regular, and by all nuns and schoolmasters, within their respective dioceses.—Thus the formulary was sanctioned, both by the ecclesiastical and civil power.

Still, the orders for its signature were not universally obeyed. It was objected, that, they were grounded on the resolutions of a general assembly of the French clergy, which, however respectable, had no canonical right to prescribe formularies of

doctrine, that should bind the whole national clergy of France.

To obviate this objection, both the king and prelates addressed another letter to the pope, requesting his holiness to prescribe, by a solemn bull, a formulary, to serve as an uniform rule of faith and discipline, on the points in dispute.

In compliance with this request, the pope framed a formulary, nearly resembling that, which had been framed by the French bishops ; and, by a bull dated the 15th of February 1665, ordered that it should be subscribed, under pain of canonical penalties, by all the prelates, all the secular and regular clergy, nuns and instructors of youth. It was legalized by the king's letters patent, and registered by the parliament, in the presence of the king, on the 29th of April 1665. In aid of the ecclesiastical power, Lewis the fourteenth published a declaration in the ensuing February, by which he enforced the execution of the bull.

This celebrated formulary was expressed in the following terms : “ I, the undersigned, submit myself to the apostolic constitution of the sovereign pontiff, Innocent the tenth, of the 31st day of May 1653, and to that of Alexander the seventh, his successor, of the 16th of October 1656 ; and I reject and condemn, sincerely, the five propositions, extracted from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, intitled *Augustinus*, in the proper sense of the author, as the apostolic see has

“condemned them, by the same constitutions. I thus swear it. So help me God and the holy gospels.”

Thus every objection of form was removed : and the formulary possessed all the authority, which a solemn instrument, on an ecclesiastical subject, could derive in France, from the pope, the king, and the explicit assent of a great majority of the first and second order of the clergy.

Still the advocates of Jansenius were refractory. But the bull of Alexander made it necessary for them to take a higher ground ;—and this produced their *second distinction*.—They could no longer contend, that the bulls of pope Innocent had not declared, that the five propositions existed in the Augustinus ; or had not condemned them in the sense in which they were contained in that work.—This, they were obliged to admit ; but taking, as we have already observed, a higher ground, they asserted, that neither the existence of a proposition in a particular book, nor the meaning of a particular proposition contained in a particular book, could be said, with propriety, to be a revealed fact : hence they inferred, that, however the faithful might be required to believe, with divine faith, the erroneousness of the five propositions, nothing beyond respectful deference, at the most, could be required to a decree of the church, on the existence of a particular proposition in a work, or on the real meaning of a particular proposition, extracted from

a work. On this ground, all of them, speaking generally, were willing to express an explicit and unequivocal censure of the doctrine of the five propositions, in the sense attributed to them by the bulls; but none would promise more than a respectful silence on the attribution of that doctrine to the work.

To this second distinction, Bossuet was as decidedly hostile, as he was to the first. He thus expresses himself on it in *his Letter to the Nuns of Port-royal*, *Ed. Ben. tom. XI. p. 292.*—"The
" church having received so many explicit com-
" mands to reprehend, to censure, to note heretical
" persons, is frequently obliged to take cognizance
" of certain facts, and to judge them definitively.
" Thus, when a particular bishop, or a particular
" doctor, is accused of having taught verbally, or in
" writing, a suspected doctrine; it belongs to the
" office of the church to decide, not only whether
" the doctrine be in itself good or bad, but whether
" it be true that such or such a person has taught
" it, or that it is contained in such or such a book.
" After pronouncing on the doctrine, it is her office
" to judge definitively on the fact; and to note
" and condemn publicly the bishop, the doctor, or
" the book, as teaching a bad doctrine: it is equally
" her office to designate the doctrine. This is a
" constant truth: every person must see, that, to
" take this authority from the church, is to expose
" her, naked and disarmed, to false teachers, and

“ to render useless the repeated commands, and
 “ the repeated warnings, which have been given to
 “ her, to guard herself against them by every pre-
 “ caution. In effect, all the world knows, that the
 “ church has never failed to observe this command,
 “ when occasion required. She has made her
 “ children see, of what importance to her, such
 “ judgments are, by two remarkable circumstances ;
 “ the first, that, after she has passed sentence on
 “ innovators, she has often inserted their names in
 “ her solemn profession of faith ; and secondly,
 “ that, even after persons have condemned the error
 “ noted by the church, she has denied them her
 “ communion, if they refused to subscribe to the
 “ condemnation of the persons whose errors were
 “ condemned.”

The testimony of Bossuet on any point relating
 to Jansenism, is of the utmost importance, not only
 on account of his acknowledged learning and mode-
 ration, but because, through the whole of the affair
 of Jansenism, he kept himself aloof from the con-
 tests which it occasioned.

VII. 7.

Polemic Contest on the Five Propositions.

THE controversy on the five propositions now
 rose to the utmost height of polemic warfare. The
 combatants in it, have never been surpassed, in
 talents, learning, ardour or activity. From the

Rhine to the Pyrénées, the five propositions became a general topic of conversation, and a general subject of animosity. Mere lassitude sometimes occasioned a short cessation of hostility; but some unlucky sermon or book, or some other wayward occurrence, was always sure to re-kindle the flame.

VII. 8.

Port-royal.

IT may be a matter of surprise, that so direct an opposition to the united powers of the church, and state, should be carried on, for so long a time, and with so much effect, under an absolute government, and the most powerful and despotic monarch, that ever swayed the Gallic sceptre; a monarch equally urged by his religious and personal feelings, to exert all his strength in crushing the opponents of the formulary. To account for it, the reader must now be introduced to Port-royal.

At the distance of about six leagues on the west of Paris, near the town of Chévreuse, an abbey of Benedictine nuns was founded in 1204. Its situation was remarkably retired; the adjacent country, though picturesque, was gloomy; and two lakes, which it contained, made it very unwholesome. For a considerable time, the conduct of the nuns gave great edification; by degrees, their fervour subsided; at length, a total relaxation of discipline took place among them. The abbey being richly

endowed, and lying in the neighbourhood of Paris, the dignity of abbess of Port-royal was much coveted. M. Marion, attorney general, under Henry the fourth, having married one of his daughters to M. Arnaud, an advocate of great celebrity, in the parliament of Paris, obtained it for his daughter Jacqueline, then only eight years of age. At the age of nine she was professed ; and, two years after her profession, was blessed, and installed in her dignity. Thus, by a crying abuse, she became, in her eleventh year, the regular abbess of the community. On her profession, she took the name of Angelique.

She was endowed with uncommon talents, and, by a pleasing mixture of seriousness and real good nature, soon acquired both the esteem and affection of all the nuns. But, she was without piety, and permitted the community to continue in its usual train of indolence and dissipation. A capuchin friar of an irregular life, and then actually on his road to Holland, in order to embrace the reformed religion, passed by Port-royal, and was desired by the abbess, to preach to the community on the following day. With equal hypocrisy and eloquence, he expatiated so feelingly on the duty of a rigid observance of rule, and the happiness attending it, as sensibly affected the young abbess. Soon after this circumstance, she was taken ill : her illness was long ; and she beguiled it, by reading the lives of the saints, and several books, which treated of

the holiness and obligations of the monastic state. This wrought in her a complete change. In the course of five years, she effected, without any contention or disturbance, a perfect reformation of the whole community, and established in it the strict observance of the Cistercian rule.

When the mother Angelique first arrived in the house, it contained only twelve nuns,—by degrees, their number exceeded one hundred. This increase, and the unwholesomeness of the spot, made them desirous of leaving it; and, under the sanction of their superiors, and the permission of the monarch, they removed to a spacious habitation in a faux-bourg of Paris.—Afterwards, with the consent of the king, they obtained, from the pope, a bull, which subtracted the community from the jurisdiction of the order of Citeaux, and subjected it to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Paris, their diocesan.

It has been mentioned, that Catherine, the daughter of M. Marion, the attorney general, married M. Arnaud. Twenty children were the offspring of this marriage. Jacqueline, the eldest of them, afterwards the mother Angelique, has been mentioned: we shall mention only three others,—Arnaud d'Andilly, the eldest, Anthony Arnaud, the celebrated doctor of divinity, the youngest of the twenty children, and Catherine, who married M. le Maître, by whom she had le Maître, the celebrated avocât, le Maître de Saçi, the translator:

of the Bible, and other children. The family of Arnaud had long been distinguished by their talents; and these were inherited by their children.

M. Arnaud d'Andilly, M. le Maître, and other members of this family, and several other distinguished persons, had, before the removal of the nuns of Port-royal to Paris, retired wholly from worldly occupations, and devoted themselves to prayer, silence and solitude. On the removal of the nuns to Paris, they repaired to the vacant habitation: but, the number of nuns still increasing, it became necessary, that the community should be divided. A great portion returned to the abbey, the others remained at Paris; and, for some time, both houses were governed by the same abbess. The house at Paris, was called Port-royal de Paris; the mother-house was called Port-royal des Champs. When this division took place, the gentlemen repaired to a building in the neighbourhood of the latter, called *The Grange*; and many persons, some of whom were of high rank, wishing to breathe the same air of piety and solitude, built houses of various sizes in the neighbourhood; others built cottages, others hermitages.—This short account of the solitude and solitaries of Port-royal was necessary;—and will suffice for the purpose of the present pages.

The greatest enemies of the solitaries never denied their incessant prayer, their austerity, their unbroken silence, or their humble costume and demeanor: all equally acknowledged their literary

endowments, their learning, their power of reasoning, and the beauty of their style.

In an evil hour, they became acquainted with Jean du Verger de Hauranne, the abbé de St. Cyran, and may be said to have sunk, under the ascendant of his genius.—Of this extraordinary man, the following character is given by Mrs. Schimmel Pennuick, in her translation, or rather abridgment, of a *Narrative of a Tour taken in 1687 to La Grande Chartreuse and Alêt*. “The simple mortified air, and humble garb, of the abbé de St. Cyran,” we transcribe the expressions of this elegant and eloquent writer, “formed a striking contrast with the awful sanctity of his countenance, the holiness of his demeanor, and his native lofty dignity of manner. The Parisians were struck with astonishment. M. de St. Cyran was especially eminent for that force of character, by which men of strong minds silently, but certainly, govern those of weak ones. His appearance no sooner arrested the eye, than his character began to gain a powerful, but irresistible ascendancy over the mind and heart. Every one felt the strength of his influence, and the conscience of each bore witness, that it came from God. Holy, wise, and strictly sincere, none could know him and not feel the value of such an adviser. Gentle, courteous and discreet, few could be with him, without wishing to repose their confidence in so valued a friend. On the other hand, a

“ perfect calmness and self-possession, a coolness,
“ equally the result of native strength of character,
“ and of a heart elevated above sublunary things,
“ a certain elevation in his manners, equally the
“ result of temperament and of education, in-
“ spired even his nearest friends with a reverential
“ deference.”

That this portrait is drawn by the hand of a master, must be admitted : but, while he acknowledges its beauty, the writer of these pages must intimate a suspicion, that it is almost a fancy-piece. Several of the works of this wonder-working abbé have reached us. The most considerable of them, is the *Petrus Aurelius* ; and the warmest admirers of the abbé must admit, that it contains little more, than vulgar and injurious invective against the jesuits. His other writings are admitted to be still more below mediocrity ; their poverty of argument and lowness of style, equally incompatible with taste and sense, bespeak a very ordinary capacity.

It is certain, however, that the abbé de St. Cyran subdued the Port-royalists, and that the most eminent of them, as Arnaud, le Maître, de Saçi and Arnaud d'Andilly, looked up to him with veneration.—This favours the opinion of his superior talents ; but if it be true, that strong minds often govern the weak, the experience of every day clearly shews, that weak minds too often subdue the strong.

It should be added, that the abbé de St. Cyran

was the first patron of Jansenius, and that many have asserted, that Jansenius imbibed from him the doctrines on grace, expressed in the Augustinus.

Other opinions were charged on the abbé de St. Cyran and his disciples,—highly reprehensible, and the more dangerous, because the worst practical consequences were immediately deducible from them; and (to use an expression of Bossuet, in his funeral oration on M. Cornet), because their mischief chiefly lay in pushing sound doctrine to extreme consequences; so that it became difficult to fix, with precision, the point, at which the divergence from the line of truth first began, and the first step into error was made.

Thus,—Every true christian acknowledges and laments the prevalence of vice; but, it is heretical to assert, that there does not yet remain, in the church, enough of holiness to justify the promise, which Christ has made to her, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against her:—Every true christian acknowledges that, without the love of God, none can be saved; but it does not follow, that a love of God, in which the fear of his wrath abounds, is not still a feeling acceptable to Him:—Every true christian knows, that the morality of the gospel is severe; but it does not follow, that it enjoins unceasing austerity of look and manners; or that it proscribes every pleasure:—Every true christian knows, that true repentance alone is entitled to sacramental absolution, and that the pure only should be admitted

to the sacred table ; but the probation for each may be too severe, and protracted too long : finally, every true christian laments the present degeneracy from the ancient discipline of the church ; but he also knows that the times will not bear a complete return to it :—On all these points, the doctrine of the abbé de St. Cyran was said, if not to express, at least to lead to the extreme consequences, to which we have alluded.

Whilst he lived, he was confessedly the head of the party. On his death, the unenviable préeminence descended to Arnaud ; and to his latest breath, Arnaud was both the head of the Jansenists, and their ablest champion.

VII. 9.

Lewis the fourteenth's Persecution of the Jansenists.

WE have seen that the Jansenists uniformly refused to subscribe, without the explanation, which has been mentioned, the prescribed formulary. They offered, if their explanation should be received, to avow great general deference for the opinion of the see of Rome on the meaning of the propositions ; and, in other respects, to observe the strictest silence on the subject.

Such accompanying explanation of the formulary was absolutely denied ; and the formulary was generally tendered to all, to whom the bull of the pope or the royal declaration directed it to be

tendered, and their unqualified signature was pre-emptorily required. We have observed, that it was refused by all the jansenists; and their number was great.

The bull of Alexander the seventh, which prescribed the formulary, subjected the refractory to ecclesiastical censures, the proper penalty for spiritual offences. Unfortunately, Lewis the fourteenth did not let it rest on these, but called to their aid, (to use the language of religious persecution), the wholesome severities of the civil power: so that, while the general mass of the jansenists was left to the inflictions and effects of ecclesiastical censures, most of those, who were particularly distinguished by their learning, talents, or activity; by their influence over the body, or by their being held in particular consideration, were the objects of severe civil persecution.—Some were ordered from their usual places of abode into distant parts of France; others, were imprisoned; all were excluded from the favour or smiles of government, and few were left wholly unmolested, who did not elude persecution by disguise; or, if they had the good fortune to possess a friend in power, by conventional ob-scurety. Many a *lettre de cachet* was issued.

The nuns and solitaries of Port-royal were both the principal objects and principal sufferers under this persecution. All their schools were shut, and the pensioners sent home to their families. The solitaries were dispersed and hid themselves, generally

under feigned names, in solitude and obscurity. Some of them were imprisoned. The nuns were forbidden to profess their novices, or admit new members into the noviciate : several were removed to other convents. At length, they were interdicted the sacraments of the church. A few were induced to sign the formulary, but the great majority persisted in refusing their signatures.

In the mean time, the jansenists were not inactive in their defence. Notwithstanding the severe edicts of the king, and the exertions of his ministers to carry them into effect ; notwithstanding too the heavy punishments inflicted on offenders, innumerable publications issued from the presses both of Paris and the provinces, to defend their doctrines ; and to excite compassion for the sufferers.

The power of the press, was never more manifest. The Port-royalists formed a combination of learning, genius, and eloquence, which has not often been surpassed : whilst also, all the learning, genius, and eloquence of their friends were exerted in their cause. The *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal, is one of the very few compositions occasioned by these disputes, which have reached the present century :—Voltaire has justly appreciated their merit, in his *Siecle de Louis quatorze*, ch. 37, where he says that, “ they are a model of elegance and pleasantry ; ”—that, “ the best comedies of Moliere have not more salt than the first letters ; ” that “ Bossuet has nothing more sublime than the last :—

“ but the whole,” continues Voltaire, “ is built upon a false foundation ; as the extravagant notions of a few Spanish and Flemish jesuits, are artfully ascribed in them to the whole society.”—

An able answer to them was published by father Daniel, in his *Dialogues d'Eudoxe et Cleanthe*, and his *Lettres au Pere Alexandre, Dominicain* ; both written with great elegance. But the sermons of Bourdaloue furnish the best reply :—To the whole of *his* doctrine every jesuit subscribes ; from the whole of the doctrine ascribed to their body by Pascal, all jesuits dissent :—which doctrine does justice require us to assign to them ?

The general effect of these publications was great. The talents which they displayed, attracted the admiration, while the persecutions, under which the writers laboured, excited the commiseration of the public. By degrees, it became a general observation, that, as far as *the state* was concerned, all the bustle turned on the question, whether five propositions, on a very abstruse point of theology, were to be found in the writings of a deceased Flemish bishop. This, it was allowed, might be a proper subject for ecclesiastical process, but it was generally felt to be a very improper subject for state persecution.

VII. 10.

Peace of Pope Clement the ninth.

AFTER distracting, in this manner, the church of France for almost half a century, the feuds on the subject of jansenism, were happily suspended by the *peace* of Clement the ninth.

It has been mentioned, that the royal declaration of the 19th of April 1665, imposed on all the prelates, within his dominions, the obligation of signing the formulary, without distinction or qualification, within six months after its receipt, under pain of forfeiting their temporalities. Such an exercise of temporal power, in the way of intimidation, was generally displeasing to the French hierarchy; but it was resisted by none, except the bishops of Alét, Pamiérs, Angérs and Beauvais: all these prelates were distinguished by their piety, and the exemplary discharge of pastoral duties. They signed the formulary; but all signed it with an express distinction between the fact and the right; and, in the pastoral letters, in which they announced their signatures to their flocks, all explicitly asserted, that, though the church was infallible, when she pronounced a proposition to be heretical, she was still liable to error, when she pronounced, that the sense, in which she understood the proposition, was either the sense of the author, as it appeared in his words,

or the real sense of his proposition. Neither of these facts; they observed, having been revealed to the church, they concluded, that her opinions on them must be fallible. They disclaimed; therefore, all right of commanding their flocks to believe, with divine faith, what the formulary might be supposed to intimate, on either of these facts. All they enjoined, was; a respectful silence, as a matter of discipline.

The prelates then addressed a submissive and conciliatory letter to the king. They acquainted him in it, with what they had done; and they exposed to him, in firm and temperate language, the motives, which had led them to that line of conduct. Their proceeding excited the monarch's indignation; and he began to concert with Rome, the proper means of proceeding with effect against them. This gave great displeasure to the whole hierarchy of France: and the exemplary character of the four prelates interested the public in their favour.

But the king persisted in his determination. In a letter to the pope, he proposed, that his holiness should delegate twelve bishops of France to decide on the conduct of the four refractory prelates. His majesty fixed the number of the prelates at twelve, from deference to an established maxim of the Gallican church, that a bishop shall not be tried, except by that number of the Gallican prelacy. The outline of the proposal was relished by the pope: but, that he might not appear, to acquiesce

in the right claimed by the Gallican church, he confined the number of prelates to nine; and, such was the monarch's ardour in the prosecution of the business, that he readily acceded to the proposal. The bishops were appointed, and they began to put their commission into execution, when Alexander the seventh died.—This suspended the business till the election of cardinal Rospigliosi, who succeeded him, under the name of Clement the ninth.—Immediately after his election, he confirmed the proceedings of his predecessor against the four bishops, and sent Monsignor Bargellini, archbishop of Thèbes, his nuncio into France.

In the mean time, the partisans of the four bishops gained much ground. Some of the princes of the blood, several prelates, several doctors of the university of Paris, and a numerous proportion of the second order of the clergy, became their advocates. The archbishop of Sens and eighteen other prelates, addressed a letter to the pope, dated the 1st December 1667. It contained a high eulogium of the general conduct of the bishops, and dwells, in a particular manner, on the respect, which they bore to the holy see. The writers adopted the distinction between the matter of fact, and the matter of right; and declared, that, if the distinction were an error, it was the error of the cardinals Baronius, Bellarmine and Palavicini; and the error even of the universal church.—They addressed, at the same time, a letter to the king, expressed in still stronger

language. On the other hand, the adversaries of the jansenists contended strongly in favour of the arrangement, made by the pope and Lewis,—particularly on this ground, that the divisions in the episcopal body on the point in question, made it a cause of such importance, that it could not be tried by any but the pope, or commissioners appointed by him.

For the first time, probably, Lewis the fourteenth now felt the force of public opinion ; and that it opposes a very strong barrier against the operations, even of the most powerful despotism. Of this, his ministers were still more sensible, and earnestly sought for some expedient, consistent with his majesty's honour, and not displeasing to his feelings, by which the disputes might be adjusted.

Things were in this state, when the nuncio Bargellini arrived at Paris.—His majesty's ministers soon made him sensible of the extremities, to which the contest was likely to be carried ; and earnestly pressed on him, the necessity of adopting some conciliatory plan, for effecting an amicable settlement of the disputes.—The nuncio entered readily into their views ; and a plan of pacification, but not without some difficulty, was settled between them. It was agreed by the nuncio and the prelates, that the four prelates should suffer no canonical disgrace ; that they should sign a new subscription of the formulary, and that a *procès verbal* of it, should be drawn up, which should remain in the records

of their courts. It was allowed that they should declare by it, to the clergy, that, in respect to the matter of fact, the church required no more than a submission of respect and silence. They were to cause their clergy to sign the formulary at the foot of this declaration ; and then write a respectful and submissive letter to the pope. Soon as these terms were arranged, they were communicated to Lewis the fourteenth. Without expressing any opinion of his own, the monarch declared his acquiescence in them, if they should be approved by the pope.

With some difficulty, this arrangement was carried into effect. It is called by the French writers, "The peace of Clement the ninth," and "The peace of the church." A general amnesty took place immediately ; and the pacification was complete. An interesting account of this transaction was drawn up by cardinal Rospigliosi, a nephew of pope Clement the ninth, and sent by him to his uncle : it was afterwards made public.

Towards the conclusion of it, he mentions, that "the pope, finding the four bishops had, at last, signed the formulary, with sincerity, and had condemned it, without any sort of restriction, the five propositions, in all the senses, in which they were condemned by the church, he thought it right to dissemble the other point,—which was, that, though they would not acknowledge, as an article of faith, the decision of the pope on the matter of fact, they engaged themselves never-

“ theless to revere it by a respectful silence.”—
(*Dumas Histoire des Cinq Propositions de Jan-
senius*, p. 438.)

This seems a fair view of the terms of the celebrated arrangement. Too great praise cannot be given to the pope for the part, which he took in it. By his wisdom and forbearance, while he preserved the integrity of the faith, he soothed the contending parties into silence, and restored peace to the disturbed church of France.

It only remains to mention the effect of this pacification in respect to the nuns of Port-royal. They were included in the general amnesty : but, in order to prevent any contentions between the nuns, who had subscribed, and those, who had refused to subscribe the formulary, the subscribers were left in the abbey of Port-royal de Paris, and the latter in the abbey of Port-royal des Champs. The abbeys were separated, declared independent of each other, and placed under different abbesses.—The nomination of the abbess of the house at Paris was preserved to the king. The abbess of Port-royal des Champs continued elective ; but both houses remained subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Paris, their ordinary. The revenues were also divided : two-thirds were appropriated to the house of Port-royal des Champs, and the remaining third, to the house of Port-royal de Paris. The solitaries returned to the Grange. The mansions, cottages and hermitages were restored to their

former owners; and prayer, austerity and quiet seemed once again to dwell, in the deserts of Port-royal.

VII. 11.

The Bull Vineam Domini Sabaoth.

WITH few interruptions, the pacification continued till the promulgation of *THE BULL VINEAM DOMINI SABAOth*, a period of almost thirty-four years. But in 1701, a circumstance took place, which rekindled the conflict, and made it a war of extermination.—An anonymous case was sent to the Sorbonne, in which, a confessarius stated, that an ecclesiastic had mentioned to him, in confession, that, “ he condemned the five propositions, in every
“ sense in which the church condemned them; but
“ that, in respect to the matter of fact, he believed
“ it sufficient, to have a submission of silence and
“ respect; and that, while he could not be con-
“ victed of having maintained any of the condemned
“ propositions, no one had a right to molest him,
“ or suspect his faith.”—The case contained other points; but this was the leading one.—Forty doctors of the Sorbonne signed an opinion, that the sentiments of the ecclesiastic were neither novel, or condemned by the church; or such, as rendered it just to refuse him sacramental absolution. By degrees, the circumstance became public; and information of it was sent to Rome. Clement the eleventh, who then filled the papal chair, by a brief, dated the 12th of February 1705, condemned, in

severe terms, the opinion of the Sorbonne doctors ; and wrote to the king a letter, complaining of the rashness of this proceeding, and its evident tendency to revive the troubles of the church. The monarch transmitted the brief to all the prelates of his kingdom, accompanied by a letter, from one of the secretaries of state, in which he mentioned, that, “ the king had nothing so much at heart, as to “ oppose every thing that tended to renew the dis- “ sentions, to which the condemned propositions “ had given rise, and which his majesty had so suc- “ cessfully quieted.”—The doctors, who had signed the consultation were alarmed ; and, with the exception of one, or at the most, two, retracted their opinion. It was the wish of his majesty that the brief should be immediately registered ; but it was found to contain some expressions, which sounded unfavourably to the liberties of the Gallican church. His majesty, therefore, requested the pope to issue another bull, in which all such expressions should be avoided ; and the doctrine, contained in the brief, announced with force and precision.—In compliance with the royal request, the pope issued a bull dated the 15th day of July 1705. It is generally called, from its first words, the bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*. The pope confirmed and renewed by it, all the bulls of his predecessors ; censured the interpretations, which had been put on the brief of Clement the ninth, and declared, that “ the respect- “ ful silence, by which the jansenists sought to

“ dispense themselves from condemning, internally,
“ the sense of the Augustinus, as heretical, was only
“ a deceitful veil to cover error, instead of renounc-
“ ing it.”—He then, in virtue of his apostolical
authority, pronounced, that “ by respectful silence,
“ a person did not satisfy the obedience, due to the
“ apostolical constitutions, against the book of Jan-
“ senius ; but that all the faithful of Jesus Christ
“ should condemn the propositions as heretical ;
“ and reject, not only by mouth, but also with the
“ heart, *the sense of the book of Jansenius, con-*
“ *demned in the five propositions* ; and he declared
“ it to be unlawful to subscribe the formulary of
“ Alexander the seventh, with any other mind or
“ sentiment.”

Out of respect for the liberties of the Gallican church, Lewis the fourteenth transmitted the bull to the assembly of the clergy, which was then sitting at Paris ; and desired them to take it, immediately, into their consideration.—In obedience to the king, they proceeded immediately to its consideration, and passed the following resolutions :

“ 1. That bishops have, by divine institution, a
“ right to judge in matters of doctrine.

“ 2. That the constitutions of the popes, are
“ binding on the whole church, when they have
“ been accepted by the body of the pastors.

“ 3. That the acceptation, on the part of the
“ bishops, is always made in the way of judgment.

“ 4. That the assembly accepted and received

“ with respect, submission, and perfect unanimity,
“ the constitution of their holy father Clement the
“ eleventh.”

In the following September, the bull was registered by the parliament : and thus accepted and registered, it was transmitted to every prelate in France.

It admits of no doubt, that, “ the object of the
“ bull,” to use the language of the chancellor
d’Aguésseau, “ was to force the jansenists from
“ their last entrenchments ; and to deprive them
“ of a resource, or retreat, by means of which, they
“ eluded the laws of the church, and justified,
“ at *least in secret*, an author, whom they had
“ *expressly* condemned.”

It was, however, soon discovered that a fastness still remained.—To that, they retired ; and there strove, *by a third distinction*, to defend themselves against the bull. They professed to discover, that the bull had not decided the real question. They admitted, that a respectful silence was not a sufficient deference to apostolic constitutions, in matters of faith : but, the real question, (in their representation of it), was, whether a respectful silence, on the decisions of the church on matters of fact, was not a sufficient deference to her constitutions. This, they said, the bull had left undecided ; and had thus left the real merits of the case at large.

At this protraction of the resistance to the bull, Lewis the fourteenth was highly irritated : he

determined to reduce the jansenists to submission. The first and most lamented victims of his anger, were the Port-royalists. For some reason or other, they were a particular object of his hatred. The peace of Clement the ninth, which lasted, in respect to almost all the other jansenists during thirty-four years, was infringed, in their regard, at the end of ten. The solitaries and recluses at the Grange were then ordered, by government, to quit Port-royal, immediately, and for ever. The nuns were forbidden to receive scholars or novices : and half their revenues was taken from them.

From this time, the community lived in an alternation of hope and fear.—At length the hour of destruction came : and it was terrible. The cardinal de Noailles, having published the bull, *Vineam Domini*, in his diocese, sent it to the nuns of Port-royal, and required their submission to it. Their answer was, that they submitted to it, with sincerity, but without derogating from what had been done in their regard, by the bull of Clement the ninth. This being reported to Lewis the fourteenth, the destruction of the abbey, and the dispersion of the community were resolved on ; and a bull for this purpose was obtained from the pope. On the 29th of October 1709, the marquis d'Argenson, the lieutenant of the police, carried off all the nuns, in different carriages, and dispersed them in different monasteries, and the work of destruction commenced. The title of the abbey was suppressed ; the

house, razed to the ground ; its foundations, ploughed up ; its gardens and walks, demolished ; the bodies of the dead, dug up and removed ; and, in a few months, not a vestige remained of the celebrated pile, but heaps of stone, and, here-and-there, a solitary wall.—Such was the lamentable end of this celebrated monastery. The obstinacy and disobedience of its inmates, it seems impossible to deny :—“ But, “ let those be severe against them, who know not “ with what labour truth is discovered, and error “ avoided : let those be severe, who know not how “ hardly the diseases of the mind are cured, and the “ eye of the understanding prepared to bear the “ light.—Let those be severe, who were never “ entangled in error.—As for me, I cannot be severe ;—I know the patience and long forbearance “ which I myself have wanted.” (*St. Aug. Ep. ad Fund. cap. 2, n. 2, 3.*)

CHAP. VIII.

DEATH OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH.

THE monarch survived this work of destruction several years : they were years embittered by public and domestic calamity.—The dignity and elevation of character, which he shewed under them, have seldom been exceeded. Assailed by misfortune on

every side, he uniformly displayed the greatest magnanimity, fortitude and humanity. This was the more remarkable, as the almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity, which, till then, had ever attended him, had offered very little opportunity of shewing, that he did possess these qualities. From Rocroi to Blenheim, a period of above sixty years, the defeat, which mareschal Crequi sustained before Treves, is almost the only one, which the French armies received on land. But, during the period we have mentioned, their defeats at Ramillies, Oudenarde, Malplaquet and Hockstadt, rapidly followed one another; the allied forces advanced to Arras, and it was evident to all France, that the next battle might decide the fate of the monarchy. To fill the measure of the distress of Lewis, death deprived him, in one week, of the duke of Burgundy, his grandson; of the duchess of Burgundy, that prince's consort; and of their eldest son.

“ Lewis the fourteenth,” says mareschal de Villars, in his *Memoires*, “ supported his misfortunes
“ with heroic firmness; but, the first time I saw
“ him after them, the firmness of the monarch gave
“ way to the feelings of the parent. He let fall
“ some tears, and said to me, in a tone of voice
“ which pierced my soul: ‘ You see my state:—
“ there are few instances of what befalls me, where,
“ in a single week, a person loses his grandson,
“ his grand-daughter, and their son; all of them
“ promising, and tenderly beloved. God punishes

“ me : I have well deserved it : I shall suffer less
“ in the next world. My confidence in you, is now
“ strongly shewn. I put into your hands the forces
“ and strength of the state. I know your zeal, and
“ the valour of my troops ; but, after all, fortune
“ may be adverse to them. If this misfortune
“ should befall the army, I wish to know your
“ opinion, on the part I should personally take.”

“ On this question, so serious and important,”
continues the mareschal, “ I remained, for some
“ moments, in silence. Upon which, the king
“ resumed the discourse, and said, ‘ I am not sur-
“ prised at your not giving me an immediate reply :
“ while I expect it, I will express to you my own
“ opinion.”

“ I am not ignorant of what the courtiers say :
“ almost all of them wish, that I should retire to
“ Blois ; and not wait at Paris for the arrival of
“ the enemy. I am not of this opinion. I know,
“ that armies so considerable are never completely
“ destroyed ; and that, though there should be a
“ defeat, the greatest part of my army will even
“ cross the Somme. I am acquainted with that
“ river : it will be difficult for the enemy to pass
“ it ; and, on this side of it, there are many places
“ which may be made tenable. I should depend
“ on reaching Peronne, or St. Quintin ; there, I
“ will collect around me, all my troops : we will
“ make our last effort together ; and perish, or save
“ the state.’ ”

Such was the monarch's magnanimous resolution: but the execution of it became unnecessary. The battle of Denain soon followed the conversation, and was the salvation of France.

The quick visits of death, to the family of Lewis the fourteenth, have been mentioned. His conduct, on this occasion, did him great honour. "An
" universal cry of popular indignation," says the biographer of Fenelon, "reached the throne; all
" the accusations were before the monarch's eyes;
" his confidential physicians attested the poison;
" and the public voice pointed out the poisoner.

" Never did Lewis the fourteenth display the
" grandeur of his character so much, as in these
" dreadful moments. He opposed the sentiments
" of his own virtuous soul, to the universal conviction of the nation. He could not believe, that
" his own blood could be defiled by such a crime.—
" When the duke of Orleans entered the presence-chamber, all avoided him; all turned from him,
" as an object of horror.—Without affectation,
" without any look or expression of particular kindness, Lewis the fourteenth received him in such
" a manner, as at once convinced every person,
" that the slightest suspicion of his nephew's guilt
" had never entered the royal mind. Posterity,
" generally equitable, has ratified the monarch's
" judgment."

" Lewis," says Massillon, in the funeral oration, which he pronounced on him, "brought into life a

“ fund of religion and the fear of God,—which his
“ early and long irregularities, could never efface.
“ The blood of St. Lewis, and of so many christian
“ kings, that flowed in his veins ; the recollection,
“ still recent, of a just father ; the example of a
“ pious mother ; the instruction of an irreproach-
“ able prelate, who presided over his education ; a
“ happy disposition ;—all seemed to destine him to
“ virtue, as he was destined to the throne.

“ But he fell !—and his fall brought a deluge of
“ woe on his subjects.

“ The mercy of God, however, awaited him.—
“ From the first moment, in which he returned to
“ God, his virtue was uniform, tender, and con-
“ stant ; and neither his piety, nor the rectitude of
“ his conduct, ever failed.

“ When the long years of adversity reached him,
“ he humbled himself under the powerful hand of
“ God. He considered them as a chastisement of
“ his abuse of prosperity ; and, by his unreserved
“ submission to the divine will, atoned for the want
“ of gratitude, which he had shewn to God for his
“ early and long continued favours.

“ He died as a king ; as a hero ; as a saint.”

A most interesting account of the last days of his life is given, by father Griffët, in his *Journal Historique de Louis XIV*, published at the end of father Daniel’s History of France.—He relates in it, that the monarch ordered the Dauphin, then in his fifth year, to be brought to him, and said to

him,—“ My child, you will soon be a great king :
“ do not imitate me in the taste which I have had
“ for war : endeavour to maintain peace with your
“ neighbours : render to God, what you owe him ;
“ acknowledge your obligations to him : make him
“ be honoured by your subjects. Always follow
“ good councils : endeavour to ease the burthens
“ of your people ; which I am so unfortunate as
“ not to have done. My dear child ! I give you
“ my blessing, from my heart.”—He took the
Dauphin in his arms ; and twice blessed him : and
then, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he blessed
him once more : both were much affected, the Dau-
phin was taken from him, and they met no more.

He desired his heart to be delivered, after his
death, to the jesuits.

He was born on the 5th of September 1638, in
the twenty-third year of the marriage of Lewis the
thirteenth, his father. He began his reign on the
14th of May 1643, and died on the 1st of Septem-
ber 1715.

His whole reign was disturbed by the theological
controversies on jansenism ; but they never ran so
high as towards its close ; an account of them we
reserve for the next chapter of this work. In some
points of view, they form the most interesting part
of his reign. The history of opinion is, generally
speaking, both more interesting, and more instruc-
tive, than the history of war.

It has often been a matter of surprise, that Lewis

the fourteenth, who possessed, among many other estimable qualities, a great spirit of justice and moderation, should, so often and so long, have treated the jansenists with a severity, which amounted to religious persecution. But this circumstance is more easily accounted for, than excused. In the monarch's youth, the peace of his reign had been disturbed, and his life more than once endangered by the troubles of the Fronde : now, between the leaders of that party, and particularly between cardinal de Retz and the early jansenists, a connexion had been suspected. This accounts for the monarch's early and lasting prejudice against them. Many circumstances kept it alive. It is evident that, though he did not always practice it, he had a high sense of the duty of obedience to the church. The resistance of the jansenists to her, would therefore prejudice him against them : but when, coming to the aid of the church, *he* ordered her to be obeyed, disobedience to her was easily identified, in his mind, with disobedience to himself ; and, in a country, where *le roi le veut* was law, the monarch would easily bring himself to consider, such a disobedience as an offence against the state, and punishable therefore as a civil crime. It must be added, that the persecution, to which the jansenists were exposed, naturally threw them into cabals and practices, which disturbed the quiet of the state. Their appeals to the people, through the medium of the press, had the same tendency. This was a serious evil. The

monarch's own conduct in their regard, was its real cause ; but, in the monarch's view of the case, it was altogether chargeable on the jansenists.—Other circumstances might be mentioned ; those, to which we have adverted, abundantly account for the fact, we have noticed.—It is one of the greatest errors in the reign of Lewis. If he had left jansenism to the church, jansenism, in all probability, would have soon died away ; it is difficult to find in history, a single instance, in which, if persecution has stopt short of extermination, it has not both increased and perpetuated the heresy, which it was meant to proscribe.

In his latest moments, the monarch felt for the distracted state, in which he left the church. Even then, the cardinal de Bissy pressed him for a further declaration against jansenism :—the monarch refused it. “ I have done,” he said, “ every thing in “ my power to restore peace among you : I have “ failed : I pray to God to give it you.”

CHAP. IX.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE DISPUTES ON THE BULL UNIGENITUS.

THE peace of Clement the ninth closes the first part of the history of jansenism ; its second opens with the disputes which produced the bull Uni-

genitus. In the years which preceded it, most of the leaders of the party died. Among these, was Arnaud :—several years before his decease, he retired into Flanders, and remained there in great obscurity, till his death. He was buried at Brussels, in the choir of the parish church of St. Catherine ; but his heart was taken to his beloved Port-royal.

IX. 1.

Moral Reflections of father Quésnel.

UPON the decease of Arnaud, the general direction of jansenism descended to father Quésnel, an oratorian.

It is universally admitted, that he possessed every quality, required for the head of a party. He was inferior to Arnaud in learning and literary endowments ; but he was learned, and had the pen, both of an able and a ready writer : his works often breathed a spirit of tender piety, which captivated his readers, and sometimes extorted the praise even of his adversaries.

Soon after his receiving the order of priesthood, he composed his *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*. In its original form, it contained the four gospels, with short reflections ; and was printed in a single duodecimo volume. It came into the world, with the approbation of M. de Vialart, then bishop of Châlons, a prelate, distinguished by his learning and piety. The encouragement, which it received, induced the author to enlarge his plan.

The third edition appeared in 1693, in four octavo volumes, with the formal approbation of M. de Noailles, who had succeeded to M. de Vialart, in the see of Châlons. The annotations were considerable ; and, when attentively examined, were found to contain the essence of jansenism, blended in an elegant and artful manner, and presented to the reader under the most pleasing aspect.

By this time, M. de Noailles had been raised to the archiepiscopal see of Paris, and the dignity of cardinal. He was strongly advised by his friends to withdraw his approbation from the work. He refused ; and recommended, that the work should be submitted to the holy see ; expressing, at the same time, his willingness to abide by the pope's determination. Clement the eleventh then filled the papal chair. The work was referred to him, and Lewis the fourteenth, perceiving that the disputes on it grew warm, ardently pressed him for his sentence. But the pope proceeded with great caution. The work was examined in fourteen consistories ; each lasted five hours.

IX. 2.

The Bull Unigenitus.

ON the 8th of September 1713, the pope published the celebrated bull, called, from the first word in it, *Unigenitus*. He condemned in it, one hundred and one propositions, extracted from the Moral Reflections. Four copies were immediately sent by his

holiness to Lewis the fourteenth. The monarch's first attention was to examine whether it contained expressions, which could be reasonably construed to import any thing contrary to the laws or constitution of the kingdom. It being ascertained to his satisfaction, that it contained no such expression, he caused an assembly to be convened, of all the prelates then at Paris. Their number was forty-eight ; two of whom were cardinals ; and two, archbishops. After much discussion, forty of the prelates accepted the bull ; but the cardinal de Noailles, and seven others, declined accepting it. Those, who accepted, agreed to transmit it to all the prelates of the kingdom, with a pastoral instruction, not qualifying, but explaining it, and with a letter, by which the prelates, to whom it was sent, should be recommended to accept the bull, to adopt the instruction, and to transmit both to the faithful of their respective dioceses. The eight prelates, who objected to the bull, declared it to be their intention to address a letter to the pope, requesting an explanation of it, and, till an answer to it should be received, to withhold their signatures. These letters were accordingly written.

The bull was registered by the parliament, with little opposition. The king then ordered it, and the accompanying instruction of the forty bishops, to be sent to all the prelates of France, for their acceptance and signature.—Of one hundred and twenty-three prelates, of whom the French hierarchy was then composed, one hundred and ten accepted the bull,

simply, and without any restriction ; the remaining thirteen, either refused to accept, or accepted it, with explanations : but, with only one exception, all the thirteen prelates, expressed an unequivocal condemnation of the Moral Reflections.

The registration of the bull in the Sorbonne, was attended with a particular circumstance. After the eight prelates had sent their letter to the pope, the cardinal de Noailles addressed to his flock, a pastoral letter, in which he renewed his condemnation of the Moral Reflections ; but mentioned, his having withheld his acceptance of the bull ; and forbade, therefore, all the ecclesiastics of his diocese, under pain of suspension, to receive it, without his authority. The cardinal's pastoral letter was published, the very day, on which the faculty of the Sorbonne was summoned, by the order of his majesty, to assemble for the registration of the bull. Some of the doctors of the faculty objected ; but, on a division, the registration was carried, by a great majority.

All the parliaments of the kingdom followed the example of the parliament of Paris ; and all its universities followed the example of the Sorbonne. The only visible resistance to his majesty's order for the acceptance of the bull, was that of the cardinal de Noailles, and the seven bishops who adhered to him. The king was resolved to force them to an acceptance of it ; and therefore banished the seven prelates to their respective dioceses ; and forbade the cardinal to appear at court. Four of the doctors of Sorbonne,

who had opposed the registration, were banished ; others were prohibited to attend at the meeting of the faculty ; and his majesty directed measures to be concerted for calling a national council, to deprive the refractory prelates of their sees.

Things were in this state, when Lewis the fourteenth died.—In his last moments, the distracted state of the church gave him great concern. “ I “ wished,” said the dying monarch, to the cardinals de Rohan and Bissy, the leaders of the accepting prelates, “ to see the end of the troubles of the “ church : but this, God has not permitted. He “ does every thing for his glory. The public, per- “ haps, has thought, that I acted from prevention ; “ and to signalize my authority. God knows the “ truth. If I had effected the re-union of the “ bishops, perhaps it would not have been done so “ well, as if it were done by a hand, more agreeable “ to heaven. I die, catholic, apostolic and roman : “ I have lived a long life in the faith of my fathers. “ I shall not change in my last moments. Always “ remember the cause of the church. This, God “ enjoins you ; and you owe it to me. Remember me “ sometimes before the holy altar.”

“ Jansenism,” says father d’Avrigni, “ would have “ fallen under his majesty’s attacks, if God had not “ otherwise disposed of him. The first pastors of “ the church had seconded his zeal, the parliaments “ of the kingdom had entered into his intentions : “ his premature death prevented the consummation

“ of the work; and the events, which succeeded,
“ made it doubtful, whether it would not have been
“ advantageous to religion, that he had not began it.”

As these events in the history of the bull Unigenitus took place in the life-time of Lewis the fourteenth, they should, perhaps, have been mentioned in the preceding part of this work, but, for preserving the continuity of the narrative, they have been inserted in the present place.

IX. 3.

Appeals from the Bull Unigenitus.

SOON after the decease of Lewis the fourteenth, there were different appeals from the bull Unigenitus.

Father Quésnel was the soul of all the proceedings hostile to it; he entertained correspondences in every part of France, and, by his energy and activity, moved the whole body, over whom he presided, into a powerful combination both of talent and of zeal to accomplish his purposes. The flame, which, during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, had, in some measure, been kept under, burst out, with a tremendous explosion, soon after his decease.

At first, however, every thing seemed to lead to peace. The duke of Orleans, having been appointed regent of France, during the infant king's constitutional minority, some hopes were entertained of a new pacification of the troubles, from the regent's known conciliatory temper and manners. These

were strongly marked by his first measures. He recalled the cardinal de Noailles, and placed him at the head of the council of conscience. He withdrew the lettres de câché ; restored to liberty the persons, who had been imprisoned for their alleged jansenism ; and allowed those, who had been banished for it, to return to France. The faculty of the Sorbonne, which had incurred the displeasure of Lewis the fourteenth, and to whom he had interdicted the exercise of some of their functions, was reinstated in its rights ;—and many other steps were taken by the regent to sooth the soured jansenists.

But, all was without effect :—The first measure of the Sorbonne was to disavow its acceptance of the bull. On the 2d of December 1715, a majority of its members decreed, that its acquiescence in the registration, was not to be considered an acceptance of the bull. Such an acceptance, they declared, would be a disgrace to religion, a violation of the rights of episcopacy, an infringement of the most sacred liberties of the Gallican church ; and an attack on the rights of the crown. With these sentiments, they annulled their resolution for its registration.

Disappointed on this side, the regent addressed himself to the pope, but with no better success. Several prelates, (their number is said to have been thirty-two), had addressed a letter to the regent, in which they declared, that they had accepted the bull in the sense, in which it had been explained, in the pastoral instruction, by which it was accompanied.

They observed, that the pastoral instruction, not having satisfied other prelates, it was therefore become necessary to have recourse to the pope, as the author of the bull, to explain those passages, which were thought to be obscure. The regent ordered the cardinal de Tremouille to solicit these explanations. The pope professed to see, that the explanations would be of no avail; and would mainly serve to prolong the controversy. Only two ways, he said, could bring it to a happy conclusion: one, that the opposing prelates should voluntarily accept the bull, without reserve or qualification; the other, that they should be compelled to it, or removed from their sees.—Compulsory measures were therefore resolved on: but, when the mode of compulsion came under consideration, it led to considerations, fraught with difficulty; as it was found impossible to suggest any, to which, either the pope, or the court of France, or its prelacy, did not object, as inconsistent with their imprescriptible rights.

At length, on the 1st of March 1717, a day ever memorable in the annals of the church of France, the bishops of Mirepoix, Montpellier, Boulogne and Senez, entered together, the hall in which the faculty of the Sorbonne was assembled. The bishop of Montpellier addressed the assembly. After detailing, at length, his objections to it,—“The bull “*Unigenitus*,” he exclaimed, “overturns truth, “destroys morality, wounds discipline, annihilates “the authority of the sovereign, and the rights of

“ episcopacy. There is no other remedy than
“ *appealing from it, to a future general council.*—
“ Hear then,” he cried, “ the act, in which OUR
“ APPEAL is expressed.”

The act of appeal was accordingly read by the bishop of Senez. The four bishops then acknowledged it to be theirs; and requested an authenticated copy of the proceeding. A majority of voices exclaimed, “ *Adheremus, We adhere,*”—and the faculty, notwithstanding the efforts of a respectable opposition, adopted the appeal. The cardinal de Noailles, and the bishops of Pamiers and Verdun immediately acceded to it, and their example was followed by many, both of the secular and regular clergy.

But,—what with all consistent catholics must, in the opinion of the writer, decide the case,—the number of the appellant, bore no proportion to the number of the acceptant clergy. “ They boast,” says the bishop of Sisteron, “ of having a cardinal, “ for their protector; four bishops, for their models; “ three universities, for a buckler; five hundred or “ a thousand ecclesiastics, for their defenders. What “ are all these, we may say to them, in comparison to “ the millions of catholics, spread over the christian “ world, who adhere to *us*? For your one cardinal, “ we reckon four in France, and sixty in other parts “ of christendom, who hold your appeal in detestation. You boast of your four prelates; but, in “ France there are more than one hundred; and

“ out of her, there are more than six hundred prelates in union with the pope, on the subject of your dispute.—You have one university and her three faculties with you.—But, in France there are twenty universities, and out of France, every roman-catholic university in the world is against you. You reckon five or six hundred curates, who take part with you :—But, in France alone, there are forty thousand curates who take part against you.—In fine,—reckon up all your numbers, whatever be their age, their sex, or their state,—what are they, when we put them in competition with the pope, the cardinals, the prelates, the universities, and the general body of the catholics, spread throughout the world, who, either expressly or tacitly, accept the bull, and adhere to the chair of St. Peter ?”

It would be endless,—endless in every sense of the word,—to enter into a detail of the various occurrences which took place respecting the appeal. It is sufficient to say, that, notwithstanding the firmness of the pope, the zealous exertions of the advocates of the bull, and the severities of the court, the appellants maintained their ground, and that, during several years, their number rather increased than diminished.—Their activity was never intermitted :—and, in particular, they incessantly worked with a skill and intrepidity worthy of a better cause, the powerful artillery of the press.

In 1728, the celebrated *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques*

first made their appearance. With some interruptions, they were continued till the year 1803. They were published in numbers, two of which appeared every week. Their object was to deify the appellants; and hold up their adversaries to detestation and ridicule. All the efforts of government were exhausted to discover the authors and supporters, and to stop the publication of them; but the attempt was fruitless.—It seems to prove, that jansenism had a multitude of secret friends and abettors.—The four first volumes of these periodical numbers are now become very scarce; and are supposed to be the best written. On a cursory perusal, this work appears to the writer of these pages, to be replete with coarse abuse, slander, and fanaticism. It is highly honourable to Duguet, Dulau, Debonnaire, Mignot and Latour, that they strongly reprobated the *Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques*. From the year 1734, till the end of the year 1748, the jesuits conducted an opposition journal, intituled, *Supplément au Nouvelles Ecclesiastiques*. See *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique, pendant le dix-huitième siècle*, 8vo. tom. iv. p. 294.

In the year 1728, the appellants were deserted by their patriarch, the cardinal de Noailles. After repeated tergiversations, he finally accepted, in that year, the celebrated bull. “I protest,” he says in a letter to the pope, “in the presence of God and “Jesus Christ, that I submit myself sincerely to “the bull *Unigenitus*; that I condemn the moral

“ reflections, and the one hundred and one propositions, extracted from them, in the manner in which they were condemned by the bull : that I revoke my pastoral instructions of 1709, and every thing else, that has appeared in my name, against the bull. I promise to publish, without delay, a mandement, that shall enjoin the acceptance of the bull, in my diocese : and I ought on this occasion to acknowledge to your holiness, that, since, by the grace of the Lord, I have taken this resolution, I find myself infinitely comforted,—my days are more serene, and my soul enjoys a peace and tranquillity which I have long wanted.”

The cardinal performed his promise, to the complete satisfaction of the pope. On the 11th of October 1728, he published his mandement, equally pleasing to the pope, the king, the hierarchy of France, and the public. Six months after this memorable event in his life, the cardinal died. His manners were most pure ; his general discharge of pastoral duty, exemplary ; his charities to the poor, immense ; he was eminently learned and pious :—Possessing all these estimable and amiable qualities, and filling one of the highest ranks in the church, much good might have been expected from him ; but, wanting discernment and resolution, he became one of the principal authors of the calamities, which, during a large portion of the last century, desolated the church of France ; and even yet, produce lamentable effects.

The cardinal's acceptance of the bull, though very late, produced some good. In the year after his decease, the chapter of the metropolitan church of Paris, and some religious communities, retracted their appeal, and accepted the bull. At a full meeting of its members, the faculty of Sorbonne declared, that, in 1714, the bull had been freely and respectfully accepted by the faculty: they ratified and confirmed their acceptance of it, and "ordered every thing, which related to its recall, to be expunged from its registers." The faculty then proceeded to declare, that "it received, with the most profound respect, and with entire submission of heart and mind, the bull *Unigenitus*, as a dogmatical judgment of the universal church; that it revoked all appeals from the bull, and expelled, from its body, the members, who should thenceforth oppose it." The faculty also enjoined, "that, in future, no doctor, licentiate, batchelor, or candidate of any kind, should be admitted to the acts of the faculty, without giving a previous assurance of his obedience to the bull."

It was hoped, that these examples of submission would be generally followed; but the evil continued,—and the doctors of divinity, whom the decree of the faculty had excluded from the Sorbonne, presented a petition to the parliament of Paris, praying to be received, as appellants, against the resolution of the faculty.—Upon this, the king judged it necessary to interfere.—He published an ordon-

nance, by which he declared the bull *Unigenitus*, to be a law both of the church and state of France. The parliament refused to verify the ordonnance. The king then held a *lit de justice*, and ordered his ordonnance to be registered, in his presence.—This was done ; but, after his majesty retired, the chambers assembled, and certified, that the parliament had not acquiesced in the declaration.—This was the boldest measure, that had been taken in opposition to the crown, since the troubles of the Fronde. It was the signal of the war, which was carried on, during many years, between the crown and the parliament of Paris, on the subject of the bull. This will be the subject of a future chapter ; but some account must be previously given of a scene of a very extraordinary nature, which, about this time, was exhibited at Paris, in support of the appeal.

IX. 4.

The Convulsionaries.

SEVERAL miraculous cures were said to have been wrought on the inhabitants of the monastery of Port-royal ; others, to be performed by them. The first of these seems to have been the only one, which was known and credited beyond its walls. It was wrought on mademoiselle de Perier, a niece of the celebrated Pascal, and then a pensioner at Port-royal. She was afflicted in one of her eyes, with a fistula lachrymalis. To prevent its reaching the other eye, she

consented to submit to the dreadful operation of the cautery, and a day was fixed for it. In the mean time, however, a nun brought to her one of the thorns, which formed the crown, which the Jews placed on the sacred head of Jesus ; and which thorn was preserved in the monastery.—It was presented to her ; she kissed it with devotion ; and was instantly cured. The miracle was attested by six physicians and five surgeons. Notwithstanding the strong prejudices of the royal mind against the community, the miracle seems to have been generally believed by the court : it is supposed to have suspended, for a time, the proceedings against the monastery.

Not fewer than twenty other miracles are mentioned by the historians and biographers of Port-royal :—and they cite, with visible triumph, the testimony of M. de Perefice, archbishop of Paris, and a distinguished adversary of Port-royal, in favour of that, which has been mentioned. Its authenticity was defended by Pascal.—“ The daughters of Port-royal,” says that writer, “ astonished to hear it said, that they were on the road of perdition ; that their confessor was leading them to Geneva ; that they did not believe, that Jesus Christ is present in the eucharist, or sits at the right hand of his Father ;—and knowing all this to be false, presented themselves, in this state, before God, and cried out with the prophet, ‘ See, if the way of iniquity is in me ! ’—What then happens? This

“ place, which is represented as the temple of
 “ the devil, God makes a temple to himself.—
 “ On every side, they exclaim, you must take the
 “ children from Port-royal, it is the arsenal of
 “ hell: God makes it the sanctuary of his grace.
 “ They are threatened with all the fury and ven-
 “ geance of heaven; and God heaps his favours on
 “ them. One must have lost his senses to say, they
 “ are in the way of perdition.—You calumniate the
 “ holy virgins, who have no ear to listen, no tongue
 “ to answer you. But Jesus Christ, in whom they
 “ are buried, and, with whom they are, one day,
 “ to appear, hears and answers you for them. Yes!
 “ on this very day, the voice, terrible and holy,
 “ which astonishes nature, and comforts the church,
 “ is heard: I fear that those, who harden their
 “ hearts, and stubbornly refuse to hear it, when
 “ God thus speaks as God, will be forced to
 “ hear it, with affright, when God shall speak as
 “ judge.”—(*Hist. de Port-royal, par l'abbé de*
Besogne, 1 part, liv. v. Miracles opérés par la
sainte Epine de P. R.) Whatever the reader may
 think of the argument of this passage, he will admit
 its eloquence. In another part of his work, (*tom. i.*
p. 72), the abbé de Bosogne mentions several mira-
 cles wrought by the mere Angelique.

It is certain, that the imaginations of the members
 of this community were sometimes exalted.—On one
 occasion, they appealed from the ordonnance of the
 archbishop, which required their signature of the for-

mulary, to the archbishop of Lyons, the primate.—The archbishop refusing to receive their appeal,—in an agony of grief, they put the instrument of appeal, into the hands of a sister, then lying in her grave, to be presented by her to the tribunal of God.—Whatever may have been the waywardness or weakness of these ladies, it is impossible not to consider them with compassion :—What remains to be related, can excite no other sentiments than disgust and horror.

A deacon, called Paris, an appellant, was buried in the churchyard of St. Medard at Paris. Several accounts of his life have been published : all shew him to have been a fanatic. Soon after his decease, a girl, blind and lame, was said to have been cured at his grave. Multitudes believed the miracle. Vintimille, the archbishop of Paris, caused it to be juridically examined. It appeared on the examination, that there was not the slightest foundation for believing, that the girl had ever been lame or blind. An abbé Bishèrand was much disfigured, and had one leg shorter than the other.—In hopes of a cure, he prostrated himself on the deacon's grave, and found, as he himself described it, a *sensible*, though not a *visible* elongation of his leg. Day after day, he lay on the tomb ; and declared the sensible elongation continued ; but, though he felt it, he did not see it, and it was equally invisible to others. At the end of some days, whenever he lay on the tomb, he was seized with violent convulsions, and was frequently raised from the ground, to a height, which it seemed

above the power of human exertion to reach. Others, particularly females, had the like convulsions, when they prostrated themselves on the tomb. The contortions and agility of their motions were astonishing, and frequently indecent. The jansenists, however, proclaimed them to be miraculous; and they were soon multiplied without end. All the town crowded to the churchyard: the passages to it were stopped up, by the multitude of persons, who came to behold them. The presses of Paris teemed with publications, attacking or defending their reality. The delusion was so great, that the archbishop of Paris published a long, serious, and argumentative pastoral, to guard his flock against it. A general distribution of the *Spectrum of Erasmus*, might have proved an useful antidote to the folly.

At length, the king ordered the churchyard to be blocked up; and all the passages leading to it to be guarded by soldiers, to prevent persons from approaching the wonder-working tomb.—This gave occasion to the celebrated verses, written on the walls of the church—

*De par le roi,—defense a Dieu,
De faire miracle en ce lieu.*

But yet, the scene of folly did not close. Particles of earth were procured from the deacon's tomb; and persons lying on them, had the same contortions, which had been exhibited in the churchyard. At length, the miracles assumed the appearance of mere

juggling tricks. Some, unhurt, swallowed stones, knives, or fire ; some, by crucifixion, or other torture, underwent the most excruciating bodily pains, not only without murmur, but with an expression, in their countenances, of an exquisite sensation of pleasure. Sometimes, their artifices were detected, but it is wonderful how generally they escaped detection.

A very curious account of two of these exhibitions has been preserved by baron Grimm, in his *Correspondance litteraire*, from notes, actually made out on the spot, by M. de Condamine and M. de Gustel, who found means to be present at the whole exhibition. “ The first scene was that of the crucifixion
“ of the sœur Rachel and the sœur Felicité, two
“ women, from thirty to forty years of age, who were
“ inwardly moved, as they pretended, to exhibit this
“ lively image of the passion of our Saviour, in a
“ mean lodging in Paris, in August 1759. These
“ two wretched creatures were actually nailed to two
“ wooden crosses, through their hands and their feet,
“ and continued fastened to them, for upwards of
“ three hours ; during which, they sometimes pre-
“ tended to slumber, in a beatific trance, and, at
“ other times, uttered a quantity of infantine non-
“ sense and gibberish, asking for sweetmeats, and
“ threatening and fondling the spectators, in lisping
“ accents, and all the babyish diminutives of the
“ nursery. The nails, were at length drawn out, and
“ a considerable quantity of blood flowed from all
“ the wounds ; after washing and bandaging which,

“ the patients sat down quietly to a little repast,
“ in the midst of the apartment. Although their
“ votaries and ghostly advisers maintained that they
“ experienced no pain, but, on the contrary, the
“ most exquisite delight from those operations, the
“ respectable reporters concur in testifying that it
“ was easy to see throughout that they were fre-
“ quently in the utmost agony; and that, in driving
“ in and drawing out the nails in particular, they
“ could not refrain from all the contortions and
“ writhings of the most dreadful suffering, though
“ they had the incredible fortitude and self-com-
“ mand to suppress any audible indications of their
“ misery, and not to utter the least murmur or groan,
“ in the midst of their torments. After this tragedy,
“ there was a kind of afterpiece by the inferior per-
“ formers and pupils of this school of imposture.—
“ Various women were stretched on the floor, and
“ beat with bludgeons on the head and breast, and
“ trodden violently under the feet of their spiritual
“ assistants, to their infinite relief and gratification,
“ as the managers of the spectacle most solemnly
“ asserted,—but, with more or less apparent dread
“ and suffering, according to M. Grimm’s informers,
“ as they had made a less or a greater progress in
“ this strange and barbarous imposture. They had
“ also the points of swords pressed forcibly against
“ their sides and bosoms;—and were not only mi-
“ raculously protected from wounds, but received
“ the greatest consolation from the most serious and

“ continued thrusting. This, it seems, illustrated
“ in a wonderful manner, the invulnerability of
“ the church under all the persecutions of unholy
“ power!—and their insensibility to blows and kick-
“ ing, typified, in the same pitiable jargon, the
“ insensibility of the worldly-minded to all the soli-
“ citations and impulses of divine grace.

“ The second exhibition, the particulars of which
“ M. de Condamine wrote down, while it was going
“ on, consisted in the crucifixion of the sœur Fran-
“ çoise and the sœur Marie,—and a great deal of
“ beating and thrusting with swords on the bodies
“ of some of their unfortunate apprentices. M. de
“ Condamine handled and examined the nails, as
“ they were driven in and taken out. They were
“ rough and square, upwards of three inches in
“ length, and entered the wood of the cross nearly
“ half an inch; little blood flowed on driving them in,
“ but a good deal on their extraction. Françoise re-
“ mained upwards of three hours on the cross; which
“ was shifted into a great variety of postures during
“ this period: but the sœur Marie wanted faith or
“ fortitude to edify the beholders to the same ex-
“ tent—she shuddered at the fastening of the nails,
“ and, in less than an hour fairly cried out that
“ she could stand it no longer, and must be taken
“ down:—she was unfastened accordingly, and car-
“ ried out of the chamber in a state of insensibility,
“ to the no small discomfiture of her associates. The
“ spectacle was concluded with a still more unlucky

“ performance. The sœur Françoise had announced
“ that God had commanded her on that day to burn
“ the gown off her back, and had assured her of
“ much comfort from the operation. After a great
“ deal of grimacing accordingly, fire was actually set
“ to her skirts—but, instead of appearing to experience any delight, the failing saint very speedily
“ screamed out in terror ; and they were obliged to
“ pour water upon her petticoats, and carry her off
“ half roasted—half drowned—and utterly ashamed
“ of her exhibition.

“ Those horrible and degrading practices had
“ been going on in the heart of Paris for upwards
“ of twenty years. A few profligate priests were
“ supposed to be at the bottom of the contrivance :
“ but all the agents, or victims rather, were women ;
“ and such appears to have been their heroic constancy, and willing devotedness, that it is difficult
“ not to suppose that there was a mixture at least
“ of real enthusiasm with their knavery :—and a
“ combination, not quite unintelligible, of an actual
“ illusion, with a design to impose upon others.
“ Shortly after this visit of M. de Condamine, the
“ exhibition was put down by the police.”

The most remarkable account of the miracles, wrought on the tomb of the archdeacon, was published by M. de Montgéron counsellor of the parliament of Paris. If we believe what he relates of himself, he led a dissolute life, till accident led him to the churchyard of St. Medard : and there, was

converted by the wonders he witnessed. He committed to writing a detailed account of nine cures, effected on the deacon's tomb, and, having printed them, in a quarto volume, in a beautiful type, and with beautiful engravings, presented it, richly bound, to Lewis the fifteenth, who rewarded his civility with the Bastille. Afterwards, he published two other volumes, full of such gross inaccuracy and absurdity, as to be given up, even by the advocates of the cause. The first volume is still in request: it is intitled, *La Verité des Miracles opérés par l'intercession de M. de Paris, et autres appellans*, 1737. A concise and excellent refutation of these miracles may be found in *Dr. Campbell's Dissertation on Miracles*, part. II. sect. 5. A more minute discussion of them may be found in the voluminous writings of their two most eminent adversaries, *Dom de la Taste*, and *Languet, archbishop of Sens**.

For a long time, an infatuated multitude believed these exhibitions to be miraculous; and concluded that, as they were produced by the earth, taken from the appellant deacon's tomb, the Almighty spoke, by

* In mentioning the amiable character of the curates or parish priests of France, the writer should have particularly noticed, *Languet*, brother of the archbishop of Sens, and curate of St. Sulpice.—For the relief of the poor, he sold, in 1726, all the furniture of his house, and every year distributed in charity a million of livres. Madame de Cavois having left him a legacy of 600,000 livres, he immediately gave 30,000 to the poor, and distributed the whole remainder among different branches of his family. (*Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclesiastique, pendant le dix-huitième siècle*, tom. IV. p. 249).

them, in favour of the appeal. Even sensible men were affected with the mania. Among these, one, who, to use his own words, in a letter to cardinal Fleury, "went to adore the wonders of God in the " churchyard of St. Medard," was the learned, the classical, the wise Rollin. He was imitated by the chevalier Folard, the celebrated translator of Polybius.—It must however be added, that Duguet, the leader of the party after the death of Quésnel, and many, perhaps most of the men of sense and learning among the jansenists, disbelieved, and did every thing in their power to discredit the infamous imposture.

That, in an æra of learning and penetration, in a large capital, abounding with men of learning and discernment, under the eye of an enlightened and active society, ardently anxious to detect it, and in the face of a most despotic and vigilant police, bent on the destruction of the party, for whose benefit the scene was exhibited, such an imposition could so long have been practised, is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the human mind.—It shews, that, when the imagination of the multitude is inflamed, their general testimony is entitled to no credit; and that, in such circumstances, the testimony, even of respectable individuals, should be received with distrust.

IX. 5.

The interference of the Parliament of Paris, in favour of the Appellants.

OUR subject has now brought us to the interference of the parliaments of France, in the religious disputes on the bull *Unigenitus*;—an event, the more important, as it led to those contests between them and the king, which immediately preceded the French revolution, and may be reckoned among its immediate causes.

In an early period in its history, the parliament of Paris became a court of appeal from inferior courts of justice; a court for trying causes respecting the royal prerogative, and the royal revenue; and a court for the registration of the royal edicts. In consequence of its judicial powers, the parliament acquired, by the use, and sometimes by the abuse of their right of interpreting the law, something like legislative power: and approached still nearer to it, by the right, which it claimed, of remonstrating against the royal ordonnances, before their registration. So early as the reign of Henry the fourth, the members of the parliament occasionally expressed themselves, on occasions of this nature, with great boldness. “Sire,” said the first president, de Harlay, to that monarch, “if it be disobedience to serve
“ your majesty well, your parliament is often guilty
“ of that crime. When it finds, that the absolute

“ power of the king is in opposition to his service,
“ the parliament prefers the latter to the former ;
“ not from a principle of resistance, but, from a
“ principle of conscience.” From this high flight of patriotism, the parliament was fetched to the earth, by the cardinal minister of the succeeding monarch ; but it rallied, during the troubles of the Fronde, and, in the latter part of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, its members made the monarch sensible, that, though they did not bring them into action, they yet possessed powerful means of resistance to his royal mandates. On his death, they set aside his will ; and virtually conferred the regency on the duke of Orleans. Through the whole of the regency, the duke stood in need of their aid : and the early and continued disorders of the finances, during the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, which paralyzed all the exertions of government, brought the parliament still more forward.

The disputes on jansenism furnished its members with frequent means of strengthening and increasing, and, what was equally important, of exerting their power.

In every catholic country, the legislature has provided some regular mode of resisting the pretensions of the roman see to temporal power, and to the undue exercise of her spiritual power. With these views, two provisions, formed a part of the constitution of every catholic state on the continent,—1st, That ~~papal~~ instruments of a public nature should not be

promulgated, within its territories, without a previous examination, ascertaining, that they contained nothing contrary to the constitution and laws of the country ;—and 2dly, That no cause should be tried, or sentence executed by the spiritual courts, which infringed them. In consequence of the former provision, every catholic state had its *Exequatur Regium*, its *Placitum Regium*, its *Pareatis*, or some other mandatory process, without which, it was a high misdemeanor to circulate, within its territories, a papal bull ; but, after it was obtained, the bull became a law of the state, and in some cases, might be enforced by a civil process.—In consequence of the second provision, there was also in every catholic state, a regular mode of appeal to some court of justice, or royal council, against such proceedings of the spiritual courts, as were supposed to be contrary to the constitution or laws of the country. When this was shewn to the satisfaction of the court or council of appeal, the court or council issued a writ to stay the process, or prevent its execution.

In France, this was effected by a writ, called an *Appél comme d'abus*. It was grounded on a petition, by which a person represented to parliament, that he was aggrieved by a proceeding of a spiritual court, either because it turned on a matter, not of spiritual cognizance ; or because it was enforced by a temporal process, not sanctioned by the law of the country.—If the parliament judged the petition to be founded, it decreed, that there was abuse in the

proceedings of the spiritual court ; forbade it to continue them ; and sometimes gave the complainant redress.—Thus, their decree resembled the prohibition of our temporal courts.

Of this process of appeal, the jansenists and appellants frequently availed themselves.—As both the bull *Vineam Domini*, and the bull *Unigenitus*, had been duly registered, and declared by the royal authority, to be laws of the church and state, no direct opposition to either could be supported ; but every proceeding upon them, in which there was the slightest irregularity, and almost every case, which did not fall within the strict letter of the text, was held, by the parliaments, to be abusive.

The contest rose to its height, in consequence of the disputes on the *Billêts de Confession*. For some years, the curates of Paris had been directed to administer the sacrament of the eucharist to no sick person, who did not testify to them, that he accepted the bull *Unigenitus* ; or who did not produce a billét, signed by a priest, who had subscribed the formulary and accepted the bull, and by which he certified, that the sick person had made his confession to him. This was represented by the appellants to be a crying abuse ; and they frequently applied for the writ of *appel comme d'abus*, against the priest who refused the sacrament. The writ was seldom refused by the parliament, and seldom obeyed by the priest, against whom it was issued. The bishops took part with their clergy ; and the parliament then

attacked the bishops. Sometimes even, the parliament proceeded so far as to seize their temporalities. It is obvious, that, whether the conduct of the ministers of the altar, on these occasions, were justifiable or unjustifiable, the concern was altogether of a spiritual nature; and did not therefore fall within the cognizance of the parliament, or any other temporal authority.

In general, the proceedings of the parliament were discountenanced by the court. Sometimes they forbade the parliament to proceed; sometimes they called up the cause to the royal council. On one occasion, Lewis the fifteenth published an ordonnance, restraining the *appel comme d'abus* within narrow limits. Sometimes, he banished the councillors of parliament, who were most active in the resistance; sometimes, he suspended the parliament from its functions; but the parliament was unconquerable; and ultimately, the king always submitted.

The reason of this successful resistance was, that the parliament was in possession of a power,—of a negative kind, it is true,—but of tremendous effect. The administration of justice, either in the first or last resort, was in its hands; and with it, the order of *avocats*, or pleading council, always sided. The consequence was, that, whenever by the king's order, or its own act, the functions of the parliament were suspended, the proceedings of the magistracy and judicature were at a stand; the country was convulsed, and no resource was left to the king, but to

submit, or hazard an innovation in the constitution. In a future part of his reign, the monarch ventured on the latter measure ; but, at the time of which we are now speaking, the former was thought most prudent. By every such concession, the parliament acquired strength ; and, of course, became more daring.

It added to the confusion, that the bishops of France were not uniform in their proceedings, in respect to the opposers of the bull ; some adopting a severe, others a conciliating line of conduct, in their regard.

In these distressing circumstances, the clergy of France, in 1756, applied to Benedict the fourteenth, for his directions, in the matters in dispute. His answer was given in a spirit of wisdom and moderation. He confirmed the bulls, but prescribed a conduct of forbearance, in which both parties found motives to acquiesce. The division continued, but its violence was considerably abated.—In some measure, however, the bull of Benedict the fourteenth may be thought to close the history of the janse-nists.—A serious, and certainly an impartial examination of their history, has made the writer think they were uniformly wrong :—wrong, in averring that the five propositions were not contained in the Augustinus ; wrong, in maintaining that the church did not condemn them, in the sense which the language of it imported ; wrong, in denying the right of the church, to pronounce on the true

sense of an author's writings; wrong, in all their distinctions and evasions,—and wrong, in the excessive severity of their morality. This was the decided and avowed opinion of Bossuet, Fenelon, Flechier and Fleury,—and their opinion is of the greater weight, as, with the exception of Fenelon, all these eminent lights of the church of France abstained from the controversy.—It is observable, that both Bossuet and the chancellor d'Aguésseau, thought that Fenelon served neither the cause of orthodoxy nor his own reputation, as a theologian, by his writings against the jansenists.

CHAP. X.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

TILL the time, of which we have just been speaking, jansenism was the only open assailant of the church of France: but infidelity, which had long grown up in silence and obscurity, then began to display its numbers, and threaten both the church and state.

The first disciples of modern infidelity appeared soon in Italy:—(See *Mr. Gibbon's History*, ch. 56, note 116). Thence, they passed into France, and there made a settlement, from which they have never

been dislodged. Bayle's Dictionary operated as a signal to call them into action. The writings of Voltaire surprisingly increased their numbers; the Encyclopedia embodied them. After this, it was too soon evident, that, in the higher orders, and even among the magistracy of France, the new doctrines had too many friends.

The parliament, the jansenists, and the deists, formed, each of them, a powerful body; the ultimate aim of each was different, but, in one intermediate object, the destruction of the jesuits, all of them were agreed.

In 1540, the institute of the society of Jesus was solemnly approved by a bull of pope Paul the third: more than forty other bulls confirmed it, and extended the privileges of the order: it was most honourably mentioned by the council of Trent.

“ The perfect form of the government of the society of Jesus,” says Mr. Alban Butler, in his *Life of St. Ignatius*, “ the wisdom, the unction, the zeal, and the consummate knowledge of men, which appear throughout the constitutions of the society, will be a perpetual and manifest monument of the admirable penetration, judgment and piety of St. Ignatius. He wrote his constitutions in Spanish; but they were translated into Latin by his secretary, father John Polancus.” In framing them, St. Ignatius contemplated, that the members of the order should, at the same time, sanctify themselves and be actively employed in

sanctifying their neighbours. “For this purpose,” says father Bouhours, his best biographer, “he set before his eyes, the two different forms of active and contemplative life: the former of which, after the model of Martha, is wholly employed in the service of our neighbour; and the other, after that of Magdalen, is wholly absorbed in the repose of contemplation. He easily discerned, that the functions of these two states, taken separately, and in their whole extent, did not agree with his design: and that he ought to chuse from both, that, which was best; and to mingle them so equally, that they should help, and not hinder one another: for, in the conclusion, however little may be the resemblance between Martha and Mary, they still are sisters, not enemies. He took, therefore, from contemplative life, mental prayer, the examinations of conscience, the reading of the holy scriptures, the frequentation of the sacraments, spiritual retirement, the exercises of the presence of God, and other similar practices of devotion. He took, from active life, all that might contribute to save and bring to perfection the souls of our neighbour; preaching, catechising, missions, as well amongst the faithful as amongst infidels; visiting hospitals, the direction of consciences, and the instruction of youth. But this last, he more particularly regarded: for, in the general corruption which then reigned, he thought he could reform the world by no better

“ means, than infusing the love of virtue into children, before they had contracted evil habits. He hoped that those young plants, growing up with christian impressions, would make innocence flourish in all states and conditions of civil life.”

More than thirty years after the suppression of the society, the following character was given of it by “ M. Baussét, ancien évêque d’Alais, du chapitre imperial de St. Denis, et conseiller titulaire de l’université imperiale,” in his very interesting life of Fenelon.

“ The institute of the jesuits,” (says M. de Baussét), “ to which no other institute ever has been, or ever could be compared, for the energy, the foresight, or the depth of conception, which traced its plan and combined its springs of action, was designed, in its creation, to embrace within the vast employment of its attributes and functions, all classes, all conditions, all elements, which enter into the harmony or verge of political or religious power.

“ Ascending to the epocha of its establishment, it is easily perceived, that the public, and avowed object of the institute, was, in religion, to defend the catholic church against the lutherans and calvinists ; and that its object in politics, was to protect social order, and the established government of every country, against the torrent of anarchical opinions, which always advance on a line with religious innovations. Wherever the jesuits made

“ themselves heard, they preserved all classes of
“ society, in a spirit of order, wisdom, and consist-
“ ence. Called, in their first origination, to the
“ education of the principal families of the state,
“ they extended their cares to the inferior classes :
“ they kept them in the happy habits of religious
“ and moral virtue. Such, particularly, was the use-
“ ful object of the numerous congregations which
“ they erected, in almost every town, and which
“ they had the talent of connecting with every
“ profession, with every social institution. Simple
“ and easy exercises of piety, familiar instructions,
“ proportioned to every condition, and no wise in-
“ terfering with the labours or duties of society,
“ served to uphold, in every state of life, that re-
“ gularity of manners, that spirit of order and
“ subordination, and that wise economy, which pre-
“ serve peace and harmony in families, and assure
“ the prosperity of empires.—The principal towns
“ of France still remember, that there never was
“ more order and tranquillity, more probity in deal-
“ ings, fewer failures, or less depravation, than
“ while these congregations lasted.

“ Profoundly versed in every branch of know-
“ ledge, the jesuits availed themselves, with great
“ ability, of this circumstance, to acquire the con-
“ sideration always attached to superior lights and
“ talents. The confidence of all catholic govern-
“ ments, the success of their method of instruction,

“ caused the deposit of public education to pass,
“ almost entirely into their hands.

“ They had the merit of attracting honour to
“ their religious and moral character, by a severity
“ of manners, a temperance, a nobility, and an in-
“ dividual disinterestedness, *which even their ene-*
“ *mies could not contest them.* This is the fairest
“ answer they can make to the satires, which accused
“ them of relaxed morality.

“ This body was so perfectly constituted, that it
“ never had either infancy or old age. We see it
“ in the first days of its birth, forming establish-
“ ments in every catholic state; intrepidly combat-
“ ing all the sects which spring from lutheranism;
“ founding missions in the east, and the deserts of
“ America, and traversing the Chinese, Japanese
“ and Indian seas.—The order existed during two
“ centuries, and it still had the full vigour of its
“ maturity. To its latest breath, it was animated
“ by the spirit which gave it birth. It had no
“ original imperfections, which called for a supply
“ of new laws.

“ The emulation which it occasioned was one of
“ its necessary effects; and was useful even to its
“ rivals. All of it expired together, and it dragged
“ in its fall, the madmen, who imprudently tri-
“ umphed in its catastrophe!

“ It will never be explained by what spirit of
“ giddiness, the governments of which the jesuits

“ had best deserved; were so unwisely led to deprive
“ themselves of their most useful defenders.—The
“ puerile causes, the laughable accusations, which
“ served as a pretence for their proscription, are
“ now scarcely remembered;—but it is remem-
“ bered, that the judges, who declared the whole
“ body convicted of the greatest crimes, could not
“ point out, among all the members which com-
“ posed the order, a single guilty individual. The
“ destruction of the jesuits was a deadly wound to
“ the education of youth, in all catholic Europe,—
“ *a remarkable confession, equally in the mouths*
“ *of their friends and enemies.*

“ The society know how to make its misfortunes
“ redound to their honour, by supporting them with
“ a noble and tranquil courage. The religious and
“ unconquered resignation of the members of the
“ order, attested the purity of its principles and
“ feelings. These men, who were described so dan-
“ gerous, so powerful, so vindictive, bowed, without
“ a murmur, under the terrible hand that crushed
“ them; they had the generosity to respect and
“ mourn over the weakness of the pontiff destined
“ to sacrifice them. The proscription of them was
“ the essay, and served for the model of those cruel
“ sports of fury and folly, which destroyed, in a mo-
“ ment, the wisdom of ages, and devoured, in one
“ day, the riches of past and future generations.”

It does honour to christianity, that the first per-
secution of her was set on foot by Nero; it does

similar honour to the jesuits, that the first persecution of them was set on foot by the marquis de Pombal, the most sanguinary and remorseless minister of state, that appeared in the last century. The charge, which he brought against the jesuits, was, that they were parties to a plot, for the assassination of the Portuguese monarch :—now, that such a plot existed, is very doubtful :—that the jesuits were concerned in it, has not been shewn by the slightest evidence.—For their supposed guilt, they were banished from Portugal in 1759.

In the following year, the attack was made upon them in France. Father de la Valette, the procurator of their house of St. Peter in Martinique, and the superior-general of their missions in the Leeward Islands, had the direction of some plantations, which belonged to the society ; and, from the produce of which, their missions in those islands were altogether supported. He made a large consignment of colonial produce to the house of Lionçys and Gouffre, at Marseilles, and drew on them for the amount of two-thirds of it, by bills, payable at a distant day. The Lionçys and Gouffre accepted the bills ; the ship, charged with the consignment, was taken by the English ; the bills became due, were dishonoured and protested : the Lionçys and Gouffre became bankrupts ; and their effects were assigned, in the usual manner, to the syndic of Marseilles, for the benefit of the creditors. It was contended, on the part of the creditors, that, under the circumstances of the

case, the general body of the society was answerable for the debt. This, the jesuits denied, and the cause was brought before the parliament of Paris. In support of their defence, the jesuits alleged their constitutions. Here, their enemies awaited them ; and the parliament instantly ordered them to produce their constitutions, in court, and deposit them in the Grêffe. On the 8th of May 1761, the cause was decided in favour of the creditors.

The parliament did not rest there ; it proceeded to an examination of the constitutions, and, by an arrêt of the 6th of August 1762, declared the bulls, briefs, constitutions, and other regulations of the society, to be abusive ; and dissolved the society, within the limits of their jurisdiction. Some other parliaments of France proceeded in the same manner. Finally, by an edict of 1763, Lewis the fifteenth suppressed the society, within his dominions. They were banished by the king of Spain, in 1767 ; by the king of Naples, the duke of Parma, and the grand master of Malta, in 1768 ; and were wholly suppressed by pope Clement the fourteenth, in 1773.

“ In general,” says the author of the *Vie privée de Louis XV.* tom. iv. p. 61, — and he certainly cannot be accused of partiality to the order, — “ the
“ more numerous and respectable portion of the na-
“ tion regretted the jesuits. If this great cause had
“ been heard, with the solemnity and gravity due
“ to its importance, the jesuits might have thus ad-
“ dressed the magistrates ; — You ! all you, whose

“ hearts and understandings we have formed, an-
 “ swer, before you condemn us, these questions!
 “ We appeal to the judgment, which you formed
 “ of us, in that age, when candour and innocence
 “ reigned in your hearts. Now, therefore, come for-
 “ ward and declare, whether in our schools, in our
 “ discourses, or in the tribunal of penance, we ever
 “ inculcated to you, any of those abominable maxims,
 “ with which we are now reproached? Did you ever
 “ hear them fall from our lips? Did you ever read
 “ them in the books, which we put into your hands?
 “ Did you ever observe in our public or private con-
 “ duct, any thing approaching to them? Is it upon
 “ a few passages, torn and twisted from books, long
 “ buried in the dust of libraries, that we should
 “ be judged? Should it not rather be on the doc-
 “ trine, which, when you filled our colleges, you
 “ heard from us, in our schools, our pulpits, and our
 “ confessionals?—Is there among you, one, who has
 “ heard from us, even a single maxim, with which
 “ we are now charged? *

“ Alas!” continues the same writer, “ the magis-
 “ trates said all this to one another:—in private,
 “ they held no other language; but they were no
 “ sooner seated on the bench of justice, than they
 “ were overpowered by their fanatical and louder
 “ brethren.”

* They might have made the same appeal to the parents of
 their pupils:—would the parents have sent their sons to the
 schools of the jesuits, if they themselves had been taught or se-
 riously suspected the jesuits of teaching in them, bad morality?

At the time of its dissolution, father Ricci, of an illustrious house in Florence, was the superior-general of the society. He, and several other of its most distinguished members, were, on a sudden, imprisoned, by the order of pope Clement the fourteenth, and, after some change of prison, conveyed to the castle of St. Angelo, and closely confined. They underwent separate interrogatories. Two questions only in these interrogatories, seem to deserve notice:—The general was asked, “If there were abuses in the order?”—He replied, that, “Through the mercy of God, there were no abuses, that could, in any wise, be called general:—on the contrary, there was great regularity, piety, zeal, and particularly, great union and charity: this was demonstrated by the circumstance, that, during fifteen years of extreme tribulation, there was no internal trouble or tumult, and that all remained attached to their state, though excessively persecuted. This did not prevent particular abuses from rising, through human frailty,—to which proper remedies were applied.”

The other question, which we shall notice, respected the wealth of the society:—its enemies had foretold, that its dissolution would lead to the discovery of immense treasures. In no country, from which they were expelled, was this wealth, or the slightest vestige of it discovered. This, the enemies of the society accounted for, by supposing, that, foreseeing the storm that was to burst upon them, the

persons, intrusted with the management of its funds, had transmitted them to Rome. “ Their avidity for “ the good things of this world,” says the author of the celebrated treatise (*Du Pape et des Jesuites*, 2 edit. p. 77), “ is one of the greatest reproaches “ made to the society, in the brief of Clement the “ fourteenth ; and yet, at the moment of their dis- “ solution, they were encumbered by a heavy debt. “ This is an enigma, which can only be explained “ by a fact, sufficiently known, that they were obliged “ to send, every year, to Rome, the fruit of their “ economy and savings ; that these sums were put “ under the disposition of the general ; who, by their “ constitutions, was the sole proprietary, the sole dis- “ penser of the property of the company. By these “ means, a portion, not inconsiderable, of the reve- “ nues of the state flowed, furtively, through secret “ canals, to swell a foreign treasure, and often served “ suspicious purposes.”

The supposed treasures were, however, quite as invisible at Rome, as in any other place.—At the interrogatory which has been mentioned, the general was strictly questioned respecting the amount of the wealth of the society, and his sending it from Rome to prevent its seizure :—“ Neither I myself,” answered the general ; “ nor any person with my “ knowledge, has sent a single sous of our property “ out of Rome, or placed it in any bank. The per- “ suasion of our treasures, either hidden or invested, “ is extremely false ; a popular rumour without

“ foundation, probably invented by our enemies, or
“ arising from the splendör of our churches ; but
“ the belief of it is a mere dream, a delirium, a real
“ mania. I am surprised to find, even honourable
“ persons, give credit to this fable ; they should be
“ convinced of its falsehood by the multiplied and
“ strange researches, so fruitlessly made, both in
“ Rome, and other countries, to discover this imagi-
“ nary wealth.—The amount of the money, subject
“ to my free disposition, was very inconsiderable.”

On the 19th of November 1775, feeling himself near his end, the general desired to receive the sacrament of the holy eucharist. The chaplain of the castle brought it to him, and, just before he received the salutary host, the general, in the presence of the vice-governor of the castle, of Dom John, his secretary, of the brother Orlandi, an ex-jesuit, the serjeant Vennini, the corporal Piannarza, nine soldiers, and some other persons, who assisted at the ceremony, solemnly pronounced, from a written paper, which he held in his hands, a declaration, of which the following is an extract.

“ Considering myself on the point of being pre-
“ sented before the tribunal of infallible truth and
“ justice, which is no other than the divine tribu-
“ nal,—after long and mature consideration, after
“ having humbly prayed, my most merciful Re-
“ deemer, and terrible Judge, not to permit that I
“ should allow myself to be led away by any pas-
“ sion, particularly in one of the last actions of my

“ life,—without any bitterness of heart, or any
 “ vicious motive or end,—and only because I hold
 “ myself to be obliged to do justice to truth and in-
 “ nocence,—I make the two following declarations
 “ and protestations :

“ First,—I declare and protest, that the sup-
 “ pressed society of Jesus, has given no ground for
 “ its suppression ; I declare this, with all the certi-
 “ tude, that a superior, well informed of his order,
 “ can morally have.

“ Secondly,—I declare and protest, that I have
 “ not given any ground, not even the slightest, for
 “ my imprisonment : I declare and protest this, with
 “ that sovereign certitude and evidence, which every
 “ one hath of his own actions.—I make this second
 “ protestation, only because it is necessary to the
 “ reputation of the society of Jesus, of which I was
 “ superior-general.”

That the society fell with dignity, is admitted
 even by their enemies. “ Let not,” (wrote father
 Neuville in a letter to one of his brethren), “ a word,
 “ a look, a single sigh of complaint, or murmur, es-
 “ cape you. A respect, which should not fail during
 “ an instant, for the holy see, and for the pontiff,
 “ who fills it ; perfect respect for the rigorous, but
 “ always adorable decrees of providence, and for the
 “ powers, whom she employs in the execution of her
 “ designs,—the depth of which it is not for us to
 “ fathom ;—these, are our duties. Let our sorrows,
 “ our groans, our tears never escape us, except in

“ the presence of God, and in his sanctuary ! Let our
“ grief be expressed before men, no otherwise, than
“ by the silence of modesty, peace and obedience !
“ Let us forget, neither the instructions, nor the
“ examples, for which we are indebted to our so-
“ ciety ! Let us shew, by our conduct, that she de-
“ served a better fate ! and let the words and actions
“ of the sons vindicate the mother ! This will be her
“ most powerful and able defence : it is the only
“ defence, which is permitted to us. We wished to
“ serve religion, by our zeal and talents ; let us en-
“ deavour to serve her by our fall and sufferings !
“ You cannot doubt the painful feelings of my heart,
“ on beholding the humiliating destruction of the
“ society, to whom I owe, whatever I possess, of
“ virtue, talent or reputation. I may truly say, that,
“ every moment, I drink the cup of bitterness !—
“ But, when we look on Jesus crucified, is it lawful
“ for us to complain ? ”

CHAP. XI.

ATTEMPTS, IN THE REIGNS OF LEWIS THE FOUR-
TEENTH AND LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH, TO EFFECT
AN UNION BETWEEN THE CHURCH OF ROME, AND
THE LUTHERAN AND ENGLISH CHURCHES.

A VIEW of the fatal effects, which religious con-
tentions have produced in the christian world, has

often made wise and peaceful men endeavour to reunite sometimes all, sometimes particular denominations of christians in one religion. With this view, in an early stage of the reformation, Melancthon formed his celebrated distinction, of the points in dispute between catholics and protestants, into the essential, the important, and the indifferent. In a later period of the reformation, Grotius, the most learned man of his age, employed the last years of his life in projects of a religious pacification, and similar projects were entertained both by cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin.

XI. 1.

Attempt, in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, to effect an Union between the Roman-catholic Church and the Lutheran Churches.

It appears that, towards the seventeenth century, the emperor Leopold, and several sovereign princes in Germany, conceived a project of re-uniting the roman-catholic and lutheran churches. The duke of Brunswick, who had recently embraced the catholic religion, and published his "*Fifty Reasons*" for his conversion, once a popular work of controversy, and the duke of Hanover, the father of our George the first, were the original promoters of the attempt. It was generally approved; and the mention of it, at the diet of the empire, favourably received. Some communications respecting it took place between the emperor and the ducal princes: and with their

acquiescence, several conferences were held, between certain distinguished catholic and protestant divines. In these, the bishop of Neustadt, and Molanus the abbot of Lokkum, took the lead. The first had been consecrated bishop of Tina in Bosnia, then under the dominion of the Turks, with ordinary jurisdiction over some parts of the Turkish territories. His conduct had recommended him to Innocent the eleventh; and that pope had directed him to visit the protestant states in Germany, and inform him of their actual dispositions in regard to the church of Rome. In consequence of this mission, he became known to the emperor, who appointed him to the see of Neustadt, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Molanus was director of the protestant churches and consistories of Hanover. Both of them were admirably calculated for the office intended for them, on this occasion. Each possessed the confidence of his own party, and was esteemed by the other : each was profoundly versed in the matters in dispute : each possessed good sense, moderation and conciliating manners : each had the success of the business at heart ; with a fixed purpose, that nothing, but a real difference on some essential article of doctrine, should frustrate the project.

The effect of the first conferences was so promising, that the emperor and the two princes resolved, that they should be conducted in a manner more regular, and more likely to bring their object to a conclusion. With this view, the business was

formally intrusted, by both the princes, to Molanus alone ; and the emperor published a rescript, dated the 20th March 1691, by which, he gave the bishop of Neustadt, full authority to treat, on all matters of religion, with the states, communities, and individuals of the empire ; reserving to the ecclesiastical and imperial powers, the right to confirm the acts of the bishop, as they should judge advisable. Under these auspicious circumstances, began the conferences between the bishop of Neustadt, and Molanus.

But, before the events, which we have mentioned, took place, a correspondence, on the subject of a general re-union between catholics and protestants, had been carried on, for some time, between Pelisson and Leibniz. The former held a considerable rank among the French writers, who illustrated the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, the latter was eminently distinguished in the literary world. In the exact sciences, he was inferior to Newton only : in metaphysics, he had no superior ; in general learning, he had scarcely a rival. He had recommended himself to the Brunswick family, by three volumes, which he had recently published, on the antiquities of that illustrious house ; and was then engaged in the investigation of its Italian descent, and its early German shoots. The result, under the title of *Origine's Guelphicæ*, was published after his decease, by Scheidius, and is considered a perfect model of genealogical history. Leibniz was also thoroughly conversant in the theological disputes of the times ; and, in all

the questions of dogma or history, which enter into them.

His correspondence with Pelisson, came to the knowledge of Louisa, princess palatine and abbess of Maubrusson. She was a daughter of Frederick, the elector and count palatine of the Rhine, and a sister to the duchess of Hanover. In early life, she had been converted to the catholic religion ; and had the conversion of her sister very much at heart. With this view, she sent to her, the correspondence between Leibniz and Pelisson ; and received from her an account of what was passing between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus. Both the ladies were anxious to promote the measure ; and requested, that Bossuet should take the leading part, on the side of the catholics. This was mentioned to Lewis the fourteenth, and had his approbation. The emperor, the duke of Brunswick, the duke of Hanover, and the princesses, by all of whom Bossuet was personally esteemed, equally approved it ; and it was finally settled, that Bossuet and Leibniz should be joined to the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus ; and that the correspondence with Bossuet, should pass through the hands of madame de Brinon, who acted as secretary to the abbess of Maubrusson, and is celebrated by the writers of the time for her wit and dexterity in business. Thus the matter assumed a still more regular form ; and much was expected from the acknowledged talents, learning, and moderation of the actors, and their patrons.

The conferences between the bishop of Neustadt and Molanus, continued for seven months, and ended in their agreeing on twelve articles, to serve for the basis of the discussion on the terms of the re-union.

The bishop of Neustadt communicated these articles to Bossuet. He seems to have approved them generally ; but to have thought, that some alteration was advisable. This being mentioned to Molanus, he published his *Cogitationes Privatae*, a profound and conciliating dissertation. It suggested, that, during the discussion of the points in dispute between the churches, there should be an ecclesiastical communion between them ;—the lutherans acknowledging the pope, as the first of bishops in order of dignity :—the church of Rome receiving the lutherans as her children, without exacting from them, any retractation of their alleged errors, or any renunciation of the articles in their creed, condemned by the council of Trent. The anathemas of that council were to be suspended ; and the protestants to have a deliberative voice. But the sentence of the council was to be definitive ; and, meantime, the members of the two parties were to treat each other as brethren, whose errors, however great, were to be tolerated from motives of peace, and in consideration of their engagements to abandon them, should the council pronounce against them. To shew the probability of a final accommodation, Molanus notices in his dissertation, several points, in which, one party imputed to the other, errors not justly chargeable

on them ; several, on which they disputed merely for want of rightly understanding each other ; and several, in which the dispute was only of words.

It appears, that the bishop of Neustadt communicated this dissertation to Bossuet, and that Bossuet was delighted with the good sense, candour, and true spirit of conciliation which it displayed. He frequently, and always in terms of the highest praise, mentions the author in his letters. His own language was equally moderate and conciliating. “ The council of Trent,” he says in one of his letters, “ is our stay ;—but we shall not use it to prejudice the cause. This would be to take for granted, what is in dispute between us. We shall deal more fairly with our opponents. We shall make the council serve for a statement and explanation of our doctrines. Thus, we shall come to an explanation on those points, in which, either of us imputes to the other, what he does not believe, and in which, we dispute only because we misconceive each other. This may lead us far ; for the abbot of Lokkum has actually conciliated the points so essential, of justification and the eucharist ; and nothing is wanting, on that side, but to get his sentiments admitted. Why should we not hope to conclude, in the same manner, disputes less difficult and of less importance ? *Cela se peut pousser si avant, que M.l'Abbé de Lokkum a concilié actuellement les points si essentiels de la justification et du sacrifice de l'eucharistie, et il ne lui manque*

“ *de ce coté la, que de se faire avouer. Pourquoi*
 “ *ne pas esperer de finir par les memes moyens des*
 “ *disputes moins difficiles et moins importantes?* ”

With these rational and conciliatory dispositions, Bossuet and Molanus proceeded. But, after this stage of the business, Molanus disappears, and Leibniz comes on the scene.

A letter, written by Bossuet to M. de Brinon, having been communicated by her to Leibniz, opened the correspondence between these two great men. In this letter, Bossuet declared explicitly, that the church of Rome was ready to make concessions on points of discipline, and to explain doctrines, but would make no concession in respect to defined articles of faith ; and, in particular, would make no such concession, in respect to any, which had been defined by the council of Trent. Leibniz's letter to M. de Brinon, in answer to this communication is very important. He expresses himself in these terms :
 “ The bishop of Meaux says, 1st, That the project
 “ delivered to the bishop of Neustadt, does not ap-
 “ pear to him quite sufficient ; 2dly, That it is never-
 “ theless very useful, as every thing must have its
 “ beginning ; 3dly, That Rome will never relax
 “ from any point of doctrine, defined by the church,
 “ and cannot capitulate, in respect to any such ar-
 “ ticle ; 4thly, That the doctrine, defined in the
 “ council of Trent, is received in and out of France
 “ by all roman-catholics ; 5thly, That satisfaction
 “ may be given to protestants, in respect to certain

“ points of discipline, or in the way of explanation,
“ and that this had been already done in an useful
“ manner, in some points, mentioned in the project
“ of the bishop of Neustadt. These are the mate-
“ rial propositions in the letter of the bishop of
“ Meaux ; and I believe all these propositions true.
“ Neither the bishop of Neustadt, nor those who
“ negotiated with them, make any opposition to
“ them. There is nothing in them which is not
“ conformable to the sentiments of those persons.
“ The third, in particular, which might be thought
“ an obstacle to the projects of accommodation,
“ could not be unknown to them. One may even
“ say, that they built upon it.”

It seems difficult to deny, that, in this stage of the business, much had been gained to the cause of re-union. The parties were come to a complete understanding on the important articles of justification, and the eucharist ; and it was admitted both by Leibniz and Molanus, that, in their view of the concern, an accommodation might be effected between the catholic and lutheran churches, though the former retained all her defined doctrines ; and, in particular, all her doctrines defined by the council of Trent. The question then was, what should be done in respect to the remaining articles of difference between the churches. It is to be wished, that it had been left to Bossuet and Molanus to settle them, in the way of amicable explanation, in which they had settled the two important articles which we

have mentioned. It is evident, from the passages which we have cited from Bossuet, that it was his wish that the business should proceed on that plan, — and that he had hopes of its success. Unfortunately, the business took another direction : Leibniz proclaimed, that, after every possible explanation should be given, the lutheran church would still retain some articles, contrary to the defined doctrines of the church of Rome, and anathematized by the council of Trent. To remove the final effect of this objection, Leibniz held out Molanus's first project, that the lutherans should express a general acquiescence in the authority of the church, and promise obedience to a general council, to be called for the purpose of pronouncing on these points ; and that, in consequence of these advances on their part, the anathemas of the council of Trent should be suspended ; and the lutherans received, provisionally, within the pale of the catholic church. To bring over Bossuet to this plan, he exerted great eloquence, and displayed no common learning.

But the eloquence and learning of Leibniz were without effect. In language, equally temperate and firm, Bossuet adhered to his text, that, in matters of discipline, or any other matter, distinct from faith, the church of Rome would shew the utmost indulgence to the lutherans ; but that, on articles of faith, and especially on those propounded by the council of Trent, there could be no compromise. This, however, he confined to articles of faith alone ;

and, even on articles of faith, he wished to consult the feelings of protestants as much as possible. He offered them every fair explanation of the tenets of the council : he required of them no retraction of their own tenets : “ Molanus,” he says, “ will not allow retraction to be mentioned. It may be dispensed with ; it will be sufficient that the parties acknowledge the truth, by way of declaration or explanation. To this, the symbolical books give a clear opening, as appears by the passages which have been produced, and will appear by others, which may be produced from them.”

If Bossuet was thus considerate in what regarded faith, it will easily be supposed, how indulgent his sentiments were, in regard to all that merely regarded discipline. A complete confession of catholic faith being once obtained from the lutherans, he was willing to allow them, if they required it, communion under both kinds ; that their bishops should retain their sees ; and that, where there was no bishop, and the whole body of the people protestant, under the care of a superintendent, that superintendent should be consecrated their bishop ; that, where there was a catholic bishop, and a considerable part of the diocese was lutheran, the superintendent should be consecrated priest, and invested with rank and office ; that the lutheran ministers should be consecrated priests ; that provision should be made for their support ; that such of their bishops and ministers as were married, might retain their

wives ; and that the consciences of those, who held possessions of the church, should be quieted, except in respect to hospitals, whose possessions, he thought, could not conscientiously be withheld from the poor objects of their foundations ; and that every other arrangement should be made by the church and state, which would be agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of their new brethren.

Such were the advances made by Bossuet ; and many discussions on them, took place between him and Leibniz. They continued ten years. They are fraught with learning, and a scholar will read them with delight. Unfortunately, however, they rather retarded, than promoted their object. The real business ended when Molanus quitted the scene.—We shall close this article, with the following extract from the last letter but one, written by Bossuet, on the subject. It is addressed to Leibniz, and bears date the 12th August 1701, ten years after the first letter on the subject was written.

“ Among the divines of the confession of Augsburg, I always placed M. Molanus in the first rank, as a man, whose learning, candour and moderation, made him one of the persons, the most capable I have known, of advancing the NOBLE PROJECT OF RE-UNION.—In a letter which I wrote to him some years ago, by the count Balati, I assured him, that, if he could obtain the general consent of his party, to what he calls his private thoughts, *Cogitationes Privatae*, I promised

“ myself, that, by joining to them the remarks
 “ which I sent to him, on the confession of Augs-
 “ burgh, and the other symbolic writings * of the
 “ protestants, the work of the re-union would be
 “ perfected, in all its most difficult and most essen-
 “ tial parts ; so that well-disposed persons might, in
 “ a short time, bring it to a conclusion.” The
 passage is so important, that it is proper to pre-
 sent it to the reader in Bossuet’s own words.
 “ Parmi les theologiens de la confession d’Augs-
 “ bourg, j’ai toujours mis au premier rang, M.
 “ l’abbé de Lokkum, comme un homme, dont le
 “ sçavoir, la candeur, et la modération le rendoient
 “ un des plus capables, que je connusse, pour avancer
 “ CE BEAU DESSEIN. Cela est si véritable, que j’ai
 “ cru devoir assurer ce docte abbé, dans la réponse
 “ que je lui fis, il y a déjà plusieurs années, par
 “ M. le comte Balati, que s’il pouvoit faire passer
 “ ce qu’il appelle, ses Pensées Particulières, *Cogi-*
 “ *tationes Privatae*, a un consentement suffisant, je
 “ me promettois, qu’en y joignant les remarques
 “ que je lui envoyois sur la confession d’Augsbourg,
 “ et les autres écrits symboliques des protestans,
 “ l’ouvrage de la réunion seroit achevé dans ses
 “ parties les plus difficiles et les plus essentielles ;
 “ en sorte, qu’il ne faudroit à des personnes bien
 “ disposées, que très peu de tems pour la conclure.”

* For these, the writer begs leave to refer to his *Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith, and Symbolic Books of the Roman-catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches*, 1 vol. 8vo. and vol. IV. of this edition.

XI. 2.

Attempt, in the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, to effect an Union between the Church of Rome and the Church of England.

DURING the regency, a correspondence for the same desirable object of re-union, took place between Dr. Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the learned Dupin, Doctor of Sorbonne.

Of all protestant churches, the national church of England most nearly resembles the church of Rome. It has retained much of her dogma, and much of her discipline. Down to the sub-deacon, it has retained the whole of her hierarchy; and, like her, has deans, curial deans, chapters, prebends; archdeacons, rectors and vicars; a liturgy, taken in a great measure from the catholic; and composed like it, of psalms, canticles, the three creeds, litanies, epistles, gospels, prayers and responses. Both churches have the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, the absolution of the sick, the burial service,—the sign of the cross in baptism, the reservation of confirmation and order to bishops; the difference of episcopal and sacerdotal dress, the organ, a cathedral service, feasts and fasts.—Without adopting all the general councils of the church of Rome, the church of England has adopted the first three of them; and, without acknowledging the authority of the

other councils, or the authority of the fathers, the English divines of the established church allow, that the early councils and early fathers are entitled to a high degree of respect.

At the time, of which we are speaking, the doctrines of the high church, which are generally considered to incline to the roman-catholic creed and discipline, more than the doctrines of the low church, were in their zenith. In France, where the ultramontane principles had always been discountenanced, the disputes on jansenism were supposed to have reduced the power of the pope very low.—By each side, therefore, the time was thought favourable to the project of re-union.

It was also favourable to it, that, a few years before the time of which we are speaking, an event had taken place, which naturally tended to put both sides into good humour.

On the occasion of the marriage of the princess Christina of Wolfenbuttell, a lutheran, with the archduke of Austria, her court consulted the faculty of theology, of the university of Helmstadt, on the question, “Whether a protestant princess, destined
“to marry a catholic prince, could, without wounding her conscience, embrace the roman-catholic religion?” The faculty replied, “that, it could
“not answer the proposed question, in a solid manner, without having previously decided, whether
“the catholics were or were not engaged in errors,
“that were fundamental, and opposed to salvation ;

“ or, which was the same thing, whether the state
“ of the catholic church were such, that persons
“ might practice in it the true worship of God, and
“ arrive at salvation.”—This question, the divines
of Helmstadt discussed at length ; and concluded in
these terms : “ After having shewn, that the founda-
“ tion of religion subsists in the roman-catholic
“ religion, so that a person may be orthodox in it,
“ live well in it, die well in it, and obtain salvation
“ in it, the decision of the proposed question is
“ easy :—we are, therefore, of opinion, that the
“ most serene princess of Wolfenbuttell, may, in
“ favour of her marriage, embrace the catholic reli-
“ gion.”—This opinion is dated the 28th day of
April 1707, and was printed in the same year, at
Cologne. The journalists of Trevoux inserted both
the original and a French translation of it, in their
journal of May 1708.

Under these circumstances, the correspondence in
question began.—It originated in 1718, with Dr.
Beauvoir, chaplain to lord Stair, his Britannic ma-
jesty’s ambassador at Paris. Some conversations on
the re-union of the two churches having taken place
between Dr. Beauvoir and Dr. Dupin, the former
communicated the substance of them to the arch-
bishop of Canterbury. This communication pro-
duced many compliments from the archbishop to
Dr. Dupin ; and these led Dupin to address to his
grace a letter, in which he mentioned generally,
that, in some points in dispute, the supposed differ-

ence between the two communions was reconcilable. The correspondence getting wind, Dr. Piers de Gerardine pronounced a discourse in the Sorbonne, in which he earnestly exhorted his colleagues to promote the re-union, by a formal rejection of those articles of discipline, which protestants brand with the name of papal tyranny ; and contended, that, by proscribing the ultramontane doctrines altogether, the first step to the re-union would be made.—The discourse was communicated to Dr. Wake : in his answer, he pressed Dr. Dupin for a more explicit declaration on the leading points in controversy.

In compliance with this requisition, Dr. Dupin drew up his *Commonitorium*, and communicated it to several persons of distinction, both in the state and church of France. He discussed in it the thirty-nine articles, as they regarded doctrine, morality and discipline. He insisted on the necessity of tradition, to interpret the scriptures, and establish the canonicity of the books of the Old and New Testament. He insisted on the infallibility of the church in faith and morality ; he contended that the sacrifice of the mass, was not a simple sacrament, but a continuation of the sacrifice of the cross.

The word, Transubstantiation, he seemed willing to give up, if the roman-catholic doctrine, intended to be expressed by it, were retained. He proposed, that communion under both kinds, or under bread alone, should be left to the discretion of the different churches ; and consented, that protestants, in holy

orders, should retain their state, with such provisions as would place the validity of their ordination beyond exception. The marriage of priests, in the countries in which such marriages were allowed, and the recitation of the divine service in the vulgar tongue, he allowed ; and intimated, that no difficulty would be found in the ultimate settlement of the doctrines respecting indulgences, the veneration of saints, relics, or images. He seems to have thought, that the pope can exercise no immediate jurisdiction in the dioceses of bishops, and that his primacy vested him with no more than a general conservation of the deposit of faith, a right to enforce the observance of the sacred canons, and the general maintenance of discipline.—He allowed in general terms, that there was little, substantially wrong, in the discipline of the church of England ; he deprecated all discussion on the original merit of the reformation, and professed to see no use in the pope's intervention, in the business in agitation, till the basis of the negotiation should be settled.

The answer of the archbishop was not very explicit. It is evident from it, that he thought the quarrels on jansenism, had alienated the jansenists and their adherents from the pope, much more, than they had really done. He was willing to concede to the pope, a primacy of rank and honour ; but would, by no means, allow him a primacy of jurisdiction, or any primacy by divine right. On the other points, he seemed to have thought, that the churches might

come to an agreement, on what they should declare to be the fundamental doctrines of the churches, and adopt, on every other point of doctrine, a general system of christian toleration.

The correspondence, which is very interesting, may be seen in the last volume of the English translation of Dr. Mosheim's ecclesiastical history. To facilitate the object of it, Dr. Courayer published his celebrated treatise on *the Validity of English Ordinations*.

Both Dr. Wake and Dr. Dupin were censured by many members of their respective communions, for the parts, which they had taken in this business. Several rigid members of the English church, and even some foreign protestants, blamed Dr. Wake for, what they termed, his too great concessions:—in France, the worst of motives were imputed to Dr. Dupin and his associates: they were accused of making unjustifiable sacrifices, in order to form an union between the jansenists and the members of the English church. Even the regent took alarm: He ordered Dr. Dupin to discontinue the correspondence, and leave all the papers respecting it with the minister. This was done; but the most important of them, have been printed in the publication, which has been mentioned.

CHAP. XII.

GENERAL DECLINE OF MORALS IN THE COURT OF FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, THE REGENCY, AND THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH. — MADAME DE MAINTENON. — MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES.

TO preserve a continuity of subject, in the little narratives, which form this compilation, it has sometimes been found necessary to anticipate the regular order of events.—The reader must now be carried back to the early part of the reign of Lewis the fourteenth.

Speaking generally, the consideration, which, in the composition of these pages, the writer has been obliged to give to the character of that monarch, has led him to form a higher opinion, than he entertained before, both of his intellectual endowments and the qualities of his heart. It seems difficult to deny that, with all his failings, Lewis the fourteenth possessed much sound sense, great discrimination of character, great respect for moral principle, just notions of propriety, unconquerable firmness, real dignity, and, what in public, is still a more amiable qualification, than it is in private life, a studied attention to act, on every occasion, with politeness and good humour. It is said, that, in the whole of his long life, he once only demeaned himself with incivility.

His warmest admirers, however, must confess, that

the variety and ostentation of his early amours contributed much to the undoing of the morals of the nation.—The objects of these attachments were always of a noble family, and sometimes married women ; he elevated them to a high rank at court ; environed them with splendor ; and married their daughters into the royal line. It was expected of the courtiers, that they should do them the humblest suit. From this, the highest officers of state were not exempt, and sometimes the dignitaries of the church could not altogether escape the degradation.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis.

CLAUDIAN.

It is needless to add, that, among his subjects, the monarch had too many imitators.

The profligacy increased visibly during the regency ; and, so increased, was transmitted by the regent to the court of his royal pupil. Voltaire and other writers preconise the elegance, which distinguished the pleasures of Lewis the fourteenth, and under which, to use Mr. Burke's celebrated phrase, " Vice lost half her evil, by losing all her grossness."—No such elegance attended the irregularities of his successor :—but, on these disgusting scenes, nothing, in the design of these pages, calls on the writer to dwell.

To return to Lewis the fourteenth :—one of the companions of his irregularities atoned for her failings by long years of penance.—At the age of thirty,

the duchess de la Valiere, after many months of serious consideration, buried herself in a poor convent of Carmelites ; and, having past the usual term of probation, made her solemn vows, under the name of sister Louisa of the mercy of God. She lived thirty-six years after her profession, practising all the austerities of the order ; rigidly observing its rules, and altogether estranged from the world. — The latter years of madame de Montespan were also exemplary.

The ascendant, which madame de Maintenon obtained in the affections of Lewis the fourteenth, and the use, which, after she had completed her conquest of the monarch, she made of it, are generally known :—but her confessions of the splendid misery, which attended her, cannot be too often repeated. “ Why cannot I,” she thus writes in one of her letters, “ make over to you, all my experience ! Why “ cannot I unveil to you, the ennui which devours “ the great ; and their irksome toil to get through “ the day !—Don’t you see, that I am dying with “ sorrow, in the midst of a fortune, scarcely to be “ imagined ?—I have been young and handsome ; I “ have tasted pleasures ; I have been loved, wherever “ I have been. In a more advanced age, I spent years “ in the midst of talent and wit :—I have reached “ the height of favour : and I protest to you, that “ every state leaves a frightful void, an uneasiness, “ a restless eagerness for something new, and which “ never satisfies.”

Such is her candid confession :—The account, which she gives of the interior of a court, is frightful : “ ’Tis a dreadful country,” she exclaims, “ in which I live. We abound with assassinations in cold blood ; envies, without a motive ; rage, treachery, avarice, despair, and meanness. Almost all I see would drown their friends or parents, to say a word more to the king ; or for an opportunity of telling him, they would sacrifice all to him.—The very air of the court is pestilential : it turns every head.”

To escape from it, she flew, whenever she could break her chains, to St. Cyr, a convent, which she had founded for the education of young ladies, whose parents were noble and poor. The rules of this establishment were penned by her, and are universally admired, for their good sense and simplicity. “ I wish,” she writes in one of her letters to the duke de Noailles, “ that you would find some author, whose appetite equals his merit, and exceeds his income. In my days,”—a delicate reference to her own early life,—“ some such persons existed. I wish he would compose for me, a few short and well chosen histories ; which, while they diverted my girls, would give them just and reasonable notions, and lead them to think, that, in the end, virtue is always rewarded ; vice, always punished. But I wish the stories to contain nothing marvellous ; for I know the danger of not accustoming the mind to simple food. I wish you to pay for these histories as you receive them ; I am aware that

“ one does not buy perfection with money, and that wit is not sold :—but I am sure, you will take care, to hide, by your politeness, the coarseness of my proposal.” The reader must be pleased with the good sense and delicacy of this passage. In the voluminous correspondence of madame de Maintenon, the same good sense and delicacy, the most polished, and, at the same time, the easiest expression, and the nobler qualities of real worth and enlightened piety, are discoverable in every page. It would not be easy to find, in the literature of any modern language, letters so well written.—From her correspondence, and every thing else known of her, it is evident, that madame de Maintenon was not formed for the humiliating and irksome dependence, to which the retainers of a court, however exalted their situation, or high their favour, must submit.—Yet it gave her an influence, which put much in her power, and which she never abused.

She is reproached with recommending persons to direct the councils, and command the armies of the monarch, who had no other merit than a shew of religion :—but, with the exception of mareschal Catinat, her accusers do not produce, nor does the history of the times point out, a single person, to whom they would have been more wisely entrusted. The duke de St. Simon, 1 vol. § XIV, observes that, at the time when the peace of Ryswick was concluded, “ all the great ministers and generals of Lewis the fourteenth were dead, and that those,

“ who had been formed by them, were either no more, or by age or infirmity, incapable of exertion.”

She is also reproached with promoting the repeal of the edict of Nantes. From this accusation, the duke de St. Simon acquits her. “ There are many proofs,” he says, “ of her general dislike of a resort to compulsion in matters of religion. Being informed that, in his government of Amersford, her brother treated the calvinists with inhumanity, she wrote to him a letter, in which she exhorted him, in strong terms, to be favourable to the catholics, but not to be cruel to the calvinists.” “ They are in error,” she continues, “ but we ourselves, but Henry the fourth, but many other princes have been in the same error. Jesus Christ gained men over to himself by meekness. Conversion belongs not to priests, God has not given the care of souls to soldiers. I believe it is my duty to use all means in my power, to make the king disgusted with this violence. I have told him, that, some time or other his edict would torture his conscience.”—Let this expiate! If blame, in other respects, be justly imputable to madame de Maintenon, this part of her conduct will, in the judgment of every reasonable person, go far towards its expiation.

On the other hand, let it be considered how greatly, both in respect to God and his subjects, the conduct of the monarch was changed for the better, in every point of view, during the twenty years which passed

between his first union with her, and his death. His unvaried object, during this long period, was to repair the mischief, which the irregularities, the unjust wars, and splendid profusions of the early part of his reign, had occasioned.

The death of Lewis the fourteenth has been mentioned.—The death of the duke of Orleans, the regent of France, during the minority of that monarch's immediate successor, was quite sudden.—Walking in an apartment at the court, he exclaimed, “ I am ill !—terribly ill ! ” and dropt down dead. The open profligacy of his life, made his sudden death a subject of much reflection.

The conduct of Lewis the fifteenth, during the first years of his reign, though far from being unexceptionable, gained him the love of his subjects : but it gradually changed for the worse, and the last years present a continued scene of egoism and vulgar vice, redeemed by no one great or good quality.—On his death bed, he recollected, that there was a God, whom he ought to have served, and subjects, whose happiness ought to have been his care.—In the most public manner, he acknowledged the criminality of his life ; but the terms, in which he made this acknowledgment, were not well chosen.—It was expressed in the following words, which were read aloud by the grand almoner : “ Though the
“ king be accountable for his conduct to God alone,
“ he is sorry to have been the occasion of scandal
“ to his subjects ; and declares, that, in future, he

“ will live for the support of religion, and the
“ good of his subjects.” The rejected repentance
of the king Antiochus was certainly much better
expressed.

CHAP XIII.

RESPECTABLE CHARACTERS IN THE ROYAL FAMILY
DURING THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

AMIDST the general degradation of public and private character, during the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, some individuals were found, even in the royal line, who were eminently distinguished by their undeviating observance of religious and moral duty.—We shall select from them, I. The duke of Orleans, the son of the regent, and grandfather of Egalité: II. Maria Leckinza, the queen consort of Lewis the fifteenth: and, III. Their daughter, Louisa, a Carmelite nun.

XIII. 1.

The Duke of Orleans.

THE memoirs of the cardinal Retz have introduced most readers of this compilation to the duke of Orleans, whom the coadjutor played off, with so much skill, against the court and the cardinal minister. That prince was father of the regent. Being

sensible of the near approach of death, he sent for the celebrated abbé de Rancé, whose conversion had just taken place, to prepare him for the awful passage into eternity. At the request of the abbé, father de Mouchy, an oratorian, was also sent for, to assist in the important duty. After a long previous preparation, the duke expired in the most edifying sentiments of devotion. The moment he ceased to breathe, he was abandoned by all his attendants; and father de Mouchy and the abbé de Rancé were left alone with his remains. “Great God!” exclaimed the former, “where now is all the dignity, “all the grandeur, we have just seen! Distinction, “glory, pleasure, all have disappeared! Eternity “has begun for him; time exists no more for him! “But a moment ago, he stood before the terrible “judge! Sentence is passed! All is over! He is “now happy or miserable for eternity!”

“God,” replied the abbé de Rancé, “has mercifully suggested to me, the same reflections. “What is this wretched world, to which I still hold “by so many ties, but which I myself despise; and “from which, God so often solicits me to withdraw!—The delusion is now over! From this “moment, I leave the world.”

The sudden death of the regent, produced the same reflections on the duke of Orleans, his son. He quitted his palace to return to it no more, except to hold a council, or on some solemn occasion; and hired an apartment in the abbaye de St. Geneviève.

There he passed the remainder of his life, a period of twenty years, in prayer, penance and beneficence. A rigid economy enabled him to discharge, in a few years, an immense debt, with which the profusion of his ancestors had charged his patrimonial possessions. It even enabled him to make a considerable addition to them: yet, his charities were boundless. He established many schools for the education of the poor; he founded a professorship in the Sorbonne, to teach the Hebrew language, and explain the originals of the sacred text. He regularly attended the divine service of the abbaye, and employed almost the whole of the time, which he did not give to prayer, in severe study. Thus, he acquired a complete knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. He left several works in manuscript. L'Advocat, the author of the best historical dictionary that has yet appeared, had seen them, and mentions them in terms of high commendation. One of them is an answer to the *Kissouh Emouma*, or *Buckler of Faith*, a bold defence of judaism, published by Wagenseil, in the *Tela ignea Satanæ*: another, is a reply to the Hexaples, a standard work of the jansenists. "His austerities," says l'Advocat, "and his application, brought on him a long and severe illness. He met his approaching dissolution with incredible courage and intrepidity. Firm in the hope of a happy eternity, he expresses himself in his will, on this subject, in the most affecting terms. Notwithstanding the decay

“ of his health, it was impossible to prevail upon
 “ him to moderate his austerities. In his last mo-
 “ ments, he employed all his thoughts on God ;
 “ and in imploring blessings on the duke de Char-
 “ tres, his son. In fine, after having followed,
 “ during twenty years, a life of edifying regularity,
 “ always uniform, and always animated by an ardent
 “ wish for the good of the public, and of religion,
 “ and without having deviated from it, in a single
 “ instance, he died, in the forty-eighth year of his
 “ age, regretted by multitudes of the good, and by
 “ an infinite number of the poor and afflicted.”

XIII. 2.

*Maria Leckinza, the Queen Consort of Lewis
 the fifteenth.*

WITH Maria Leckinza, virtue herself ascended the throne of Lewis the fifteenth.

The house of Leck is one of the most illustrious in Europe. About the four hundred and fiftieth year of the christian æra, a horde of Sclavonians invaded the eastern territories of Europe, under their chieftains, Leckus and Czercus. The latter conquered Bohemia ; the former, Poland. During three hundred years, his successors reigned, under the title of duke : they were succeeded by the Piasts, and these, by Jagellons ;—the throne being elective, princes of different houses succeeded ; and, about a

thousand years after the death of the last prince of the Leckan stem, the throne having then become monarchical, Stanislaus Leckinzi, a prince of that house, was elected king of Poland, under the influence of Charles the twelfth, of Sweden. After a long contest, he was expelled, and retired, with the permission of France, to Weissemburgh in French Alsace. There, he lived in great privacy; spending the whole of his time in the education of his daughter, and only child. Unexpectedly, as it may be easily imagined, the cardinal de Rohan, bishop of Strasburgh, waited on him, by the order of Lewis the fifteenth, to request his consent to his daughter's marriage with the monarch. His consent being given, the cardinal was introduced to the princess. When the proposal was communicated to her, she told the cardinal, that she was penetrated with gratitude for the honour which the king of France did her: "for the rest," she said, "you see my father and mother, my will is in their hands." Soon as the matter was quite adjusted, she repaired to a convent, and spent in it, several days in a religious retreat.—The retreat ended,—one of her friends asked her, if she had not been much distracted. "Indeed," she replied, "I was: I could not help thinking, all the while, how unhappy I should be, if the crown, which the king of France offers me, should make me lose the crown, which the King of heaven offers to all, who take up his cross and follow him." In the midst of her good fortune,

she seemed to feel nothing so much, as the joy, which it gave her father.—Her greatest pleasure in her road to Versailles, was to steal from the crowd, which surrounded her, and write to him.—In one of her letters, she remarks, playfully, on the compliments which, according to the custom of the time, she received on her entry into the principal towns, through which she passed ; “ Here,” says she, “ I was one “ of the graces ; there, one of the nine sisters. In “ one place, I was the wonder of the world ; in “ another, a star,—in short, I was in an incessant “ state of metamorphosis.—But, to undo the charm, “ I had only to put my hand to my head, and I “ soon found myself no other, than your dear little “ *Maruchna*,”—the Polish word corresponding to Mary.

Established in her royal rank, her only care was to discharge, in the true spirit of christian meekness and conciliation, its public and private duties. It was soon observed, that she had no taste for the scenes of splendor and dissipation, in which she was forced to move ; but her appearance and demeanor in them, were always such as suited a queen of France ; dignified, without haughtiness ; conciliating, without familiarity ; inspiring cheerfulness, but stopping very short of levity. She made it a rule never to interfere in the concerns of state ; the only occasion, in which she broke this rule, was, when,—a council being convened, on the subject of the expulsion of the jesuits from France,—she desired the

dauphin to attend it, and vote against the measure. She persuaded the king to repress the high play of the court. "That two enemies," she used to say, "should advance, sword in hand, to take one another's life, is easily accounted for,—as it is a natural effect of hatred, carried to excess: but, that a person, who professes himself a friend of another, should sit down to ruin him at play, and reduce his wife and children to beggary, is altogether inconceivable." In the whole of her biography, not a single instance of ostentatious virtue is recorded; it was an equable tenor of undeviating rectitude, rational piety, and active, but decent and well regulated beneficence. On one occasion, an officer of state had conducted himself, in her regard, in a very unwarrantable manner, and some persons, in whom she placed great confidence, pressed her to make his conduct known to the king. "Justice," they said, "required that from her." "True," she replied, "justice seems to require it; but revenge so often assumes the appearance of justice, that I am afraid of the mistake." It was intimated to her by some, to whose judgment she deferred, that she ought to be more liberal of presents to the courtiers: "I wish it were in my power," she replied, "but, while the courtiers solicit favours, I hear thousands cry to me for bread." The cries of these, she never willingly rejected. Her income was great, but it sunk under her boundless charities. In a season of scarcity, she raised money to supply

the wants of the poor, by pledging her jewels. The poor always flocked about her carriage, in such numbers, as acquired them the appellation of the queen's own regiment. The attention, which she gave to the education of her children, was most edifying ; and they answered to her cares. The dauphin, in particular, promised to be a true imitator of the valour, the wisdom and the piety of St. Lewis : and he bestowed the same edifying attention on his own children. It was a custom in France, that, when a child, in the direct line of inheritance to the throne, attained a certain age, he was presented to the curate, and his name was inscribed on the parochial register of baptisms. When the late unfortunate Lewis the sixteenth, attained the age, required for this ceremony, the dauphin presented him to the curate, and the parochial register was produced. The last name inscribed on it, was that of a labouring mechanic, and the young prince's name was to be written under it. " Observe this,"—said the dauphin to his son, " it is in this manner, that we shall " stand at the day of judgment.—On that awful " day there will be no distinction of persons."

The depravity of the king was a poignant affliction to the queen : but she bore it with resignation, and never permitted him to perceive, by her conduct, that she observed it. Her conduct extorted the admiration of the celebrated marchioness, to whom the king so disgracefully attached himself: " The " queen," she writes, in a letter to the countess de

Baschy, “is a saint. The grandeurs and vanities of
“ the world make no impression on her. I wish I
“ could say as much of myself. She certainly is the
“ valiant woman, mentioned in the scripture. She
“ bears age, infirmity and mortification, for she has
“ her share of it, with a courage, that excites my
“ admiration and astonishment.—She has convinced
“ me, that true devotion is good for something.”

XIII. 3.

The Princess Louisa.

THE excellent education, which the queen bestowed on her children, appeared by their conduct. In every part of their lives, and in every situation, into which they were thrown, they were respected for their piety, modesty and beneficence. Her daughters were educated at the convent of Fontévrault. Thither, their rank necessarily accompanied them; but it obtained for them neither privilege nor indulgence. The same obedience and regularity were required from them, as the rules of the house exacted from a common pensioner. The slightest expression of haughtiness, either in action or words, never escaped a severe reprimand.

It was universally allowed, that, when their education at the convent was finished, they quitted it with the strongest principles of rectitude and religion. They mixed with the world; but, in all of them, a love of retirement was discernible. For a

considerable time, this was least noticed in Louisa, the youngest. The gradual change of her mind, she herself describes in the following terms : “ Often, “ particularly when I partook of the sacrament of “ the altar, I strongly felt, that, to please the world, “ I made many sacrifices, which were of no value in “ the eye of God ; but which, had they been made “ on his account, would have contributed to secure “ to me, a happy eternity. I admired the queen. “ She had great duties to perform, and was very “ punctual in the discharge of them ; yet, in the “ midst of the court, she led the life of a saint. I “ could not bring myself to imitate her ; but an interior voice often told me, that I did not do for “ God, all that he required of me. I wished to do “ it, but I seemed, if I may use St. Augustine’s “ words, to fear, lest God should speak too clearly “ to me ; and that I should engage myself too far, “ in his service.—The death of my sister Henrietta “ made a strong impression on me. She lived like “ the queen, and died the death of a saint : I desired that my death might resemble hers ; but I “ felt there was little resemblance in our lives. I “ began to fear lest death should seize me before “ I was truly converted,—and to feel something “ like a wish to enter into religion. Soon after this, “ the countess of Rupelmonde quitted the world ; “ and, after a regular noviciate, took the veil. I assisted at the ceremony, admired her courage, and “ fervently prayed to God, to assist me in breaking

“ the bonds, which tied me to the world. The cour-
“ tiers prophesied, that she would not persevere ;
“ but they proved false prophets. She made her
“ profession : when I saw her, she spoke to me of
“ her happiness ; and it was quite evident to me,
“ that she spoke the language of her heart. The
“ queen often went to the carmelites of Campiégne ;
“ and spent some days with them, attending regu-
“ larly their devotional exercises ; and, when she
“ returned to us, spoke so feelingly of their piety
“ and happiness, as made me sigh to become one of
“ them. At length, I mentioned my project, in
“ general terms, to the good archbishop of Paris ;
“ who suggested delay. The death of the dauphin
“ and dauphiness then arrived. Every thing I saw,
“ during their illness, and in their last moments,
“ confirmed me in my design.—My motives for it
“ were, that I had always my iniquities before me ;
“ that I never ceased considering what it had cost
“ the Son of God to save us ; the necessity of pe-
“ nance in this life, or the next ; the difficulty of
“ practising it in a station of life, in which comfort
“ and pleasure abounded ; the parable of the camel,
“ who can pass through a needle’s eye, more easily
“ than a rich man can enter the kingdom of heaven ;
“ the precept of giving alms, which extends to
“ the whole of our superfluity,—and mine was im-
“ mense ;—the wish of possessing God eternally,
“ and obtaining the heavenly crown, which he has

“ promised to us. These were the motives which
“ decided my choice of a religious life.”

By degrees, she inured herself, unobserved by any one, to the penitential austerities of the carmelite rule. Her resolution was, at last, announced to the king, and his consent to it obtained. After passing through a year's noviciate, she made her solemn profession on the 22d of September 1771, in a convent of carmelite nuns at St. Denis. From the severity, with which the rule of St. Theresa was practised in that house, it was called the La Trappe of the carmelite order: such was its poverty, that the buildings of the convent were in a state of decay, and a few days before the princess entered, the community had been in want of necessaries.—Not the slightest difference was made between her and the other members of the community. There was no rule of the order, which she did not rigidly observe; no practice, however mortifying, humiliating, or distressing, to which she did not punctually submit.

She successively filled the offices of mistress of the novices, sub-prioress, and mother-superior; the love and veneration of the community for her, could not be exceeded. After spending sixteen years in the exercise of every claustral virtue, she died on the 23d day of December 1787.—An interesting account of her life has been written by the abbé Proyart.

CHAP. XIV.

THE CHURCH OF FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF
LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

THE splendor of the church of France, in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, has been mentioned.—Through the reign of his immediate successor, unpropitious as it was to all moral and religious excellence, its splendor was still unimpaired; and the meek and dignified firmness, with which, through the whole of the French revolution, the clergy of France supported every kind of persecution and contumely, rather than surrender the principles of their ancient and established discipline, have secured to their conduct, the veneration of posterity.—In no part of the long period, to which we are referring, was the church of France without I. A respectable prelacy; II. A respectable secular, III. Or a respectable regular clergy; IV. Or, without pastors of eminent learning and piety.

XIV. 1.

The Prelacy of France during the reign of Lewis the fifteenth.

OF the prelates, who illustrated the hierarchy of France, in the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, none was more distinguished than Massillon, the bishop of Clermont. The palm of christian eloquence is

divided between him, Bossuet and Bourdaloue. But, their styles of oratory are very dissimilar ; and a comparison of them in this place may not be unacceptable to the reader.

Nothing in the sermons of Bourdaloue, or Massillon equals, in splendor or sublimity, a multitude of passages, which may be produced from the sermons of Bossuet. Bossuet has little of Massillon's occasional monotony ; or of the cold dialectic, which sometimes retards the beautiful march of Bourdaloue. On the other hand, Bossuet has not the continued elegance and grace of Massillon ; and an advocate of Bourdaloue might contend, that, if Bourdaloue appear to yield to Bossuet in sublimity, it is only because the sublimity of Bourdaloue is more familiar, and therefore less imposing.

It seems to be admitted, that the sermons of Massillon, the tragedies of Euripides and Racine, the Georgics of Virgil, and The Offices of Cicero, are the most perfect of human compositions. Those, therefore, who read sermons merely for their literary merit, will generally prefer the sermons of Massillon to those of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. On the other hand, the profound theology of the sermons of Bossuet, and the countless passages in them of true sublimity, and exquisite pathos, will lead many to give them a decided preference over both his rivals. But to those, who read sermons for instruction, and whose chief object in the perusal, is to be excited to virtue, or confirmed in her paths, will generally con-

sider Bourdaloue as the first of preachers ; and every time they peruse him, it will be with new delight. No sermons possess, in so great a degree, the indescribable charm of simplicity ; and no composition, sacred or profane, contains any thing, which, in grace or effect, exceeds that insensible rise from mere colloquial instruction into eloquence, of which Bourdaloue scarcely has a sermon, that does not furnish more than one example.—To these must be added, his inestimable talent of conversing with his hearers.

“ Was Magdalen,” he says in his panegyric of her, “ better acquainted with Jesus Christ, than we are ? “ On the contrary, the mysteries and doctrines of “ christianity, in which we have been instructed, “ have discovered to us, wonders, that were hidden “ from her eyes. Why, therefore, should we make “ a longer delay ? Without going farther, why, before we quit this church, before we stir from this “ very altar, where Jesus Christ himself is present, “ not indeed as a guest, as in the house of the Pharisee, but, as our food and nourishment, as a victim immolated for us, as our priest, as our pastor, “ why should we not now give ourselves up to “ him?—Let us, for once, completely do, what we “ have, so often, proposed to do ;—let us say to “ him, No ! O Lord ! It shall not be in a year’s “ time ; at the end of a month ; it shall be to-day. “ It is wrong for me to temporise.—It shall not be, “ when I have finished this or that business ; for it “ is unjust, that the concerns of the world should

“ make me postpone the concerns of God to them.
 “ It shall not be when age comes upon me ; for
 “ yours, O God ! is every age ; and it would be a
 “ sensible insult to you, that I should reserve for
 “ you, the last years, the refuse of my life.—It is
 “ now, O God ! *I am thine* ; and I will be always
 “ thine. Receive the protestation I make to thee,
 “ and strengthen the resolution I form in thy sight.”
 Can simplicity, can instruction, can eloquence go
 beyond this passage?

To Bourdaloue, other merits must be added, particularly the perfection of his style. Always plain, always unambitious, he appears to strike, by what he says, and not by the manner of his saying it. Upon the whole, the public opinion, that, after reading Bourdaloue, we shall not think Bossuet the first preacher of the French nation, seems to be well founded.

Few sermons of Bossuet were published before the Benedictine edition of his works made its appearance. They fill four volumes of that edition ; but many sketches and extracts of sermons are inserted in them, which, in that form, at least, should not have been presented to the public.

The following passage is both beautiful and sublime. “ Human life resembles a road, which ends
 “ in a frightful precipice. We are told of this, at the
 “ first step we take : but, our destiny is fixed ; we
 “ must proceed.—Go on ! An invincible power, an
 “ irresistible force impels us forward ; and we must

“ continually advance to the precipice. A thousand
“ crosses, a thousand pains, fatigues and disturb-
“ ances, vex us on the road.—If we could but
“ avoid the terrible precipice! No! Go on! You
“ must run; such is the rapid flight of years. Still,
“ on the way, we occasionally meet with some ob-
“ jects that divert us, a flowing stream, a passing
“ flower: we are amused; and we wish to stop.
“ Go on! We see that every thing around us falls;
“ a frightful crash! an inevitable ruin! Still, here
“ and there, we pluck some flowers, which fade in
“ our hands; some fruits, which vanish, while we
“ taste them; which, however, comfort us, for the
“ moment. But all is enchantment and illusion;
“ we are still hurried on to the frightful gulf. By
“ degrees, every thing begins to fade; the gardens
“ seem less fair, the flowers, less lively; the colours,
“ less fresh; the meadows, less gay; the waters,
“ less bright; every thing decays, every thing falls
“ away.—At length the spectre of death rises
“ in view!—We begin to be sensible of our near
“ approach to the fatal gulf!—We touch its
“ brink:—one step more!—and!—horror now
“ seizes our senses: the head turns; the eye wan-
“ ders! We must go on!!! Oh that we might re-
“ turn! But there are no means of returning; all
“ is fallen! all vanished! all is gone!”

It is impossible to deny the force and beauty of this passage: the following, perhaps, is in a finer manner: “The discourses of St. Paul,” says Bossuet,

“ far from flowing with the agreeable softness,
“ and tempered equality, which we admire in the
“ orators of Greece and Rome, appear unequal, and
“ without connection, to those, who have not suf-
“ ficiently penetrated into them. The polished taste
“ and delicate ear of the people of the world, are
“ offended with the hardness of his irregular style.
“ But, my brethren ! let us not be ashamed of St.
“ Paul ! The language of the apostle is simple ;
“ but all his thoughts are divine. If he be ignorant
“ of rhetoric, and despise philosophy, Jesus Christ
“ stands him instead of all. The name of Christ,
“ which he has always in his mouth ; the mysteries
“ of the gospel, which he so divinely announces,
“ make him omnipotent in his simplicity. Yes, he—
“ this man, so ignorant of the art of fine speaking,
“ will go with his homely language, and his foreign
“ phrase, into Greece, the mother of philosophers
“ and orators ; and, in spite of the whole world’s
“ resistance, will establish here, more churches, than
“ Plato, with all his divine eloquence, had scho-
“ lars.—He will preach Christ, in Athens ; and
“ the most learned of the senators will pass over
“ from the areopagus to the school of this barba-
“ rian.—He will pursue his triumph ; and, in the
“ very presence of her proconsul, will lay the fasces
“ of Rome prostrate at the feet of Christ ; and
“ every judge, before whose tribunal he is cited,
“ will tremble. Rome herself shall hear his voice ;
“ and the day will come, when this city, this mis-

“ tress of the world, will esteem herself more honoured by a letter, addressed by him to her citizens, than by all the harangues, which she heard from her Cicero.—A power, more than human, is mixed in the divine simplicity of his words, and gives them a force, which does not, perhaps, flatter the taste, but goes directly to the heart. Like a great river, which preserves in the plains, through which it flows, the impetuous force which it receives in the mountains, whence it derives its source, the virtue, which St. Paul’s Epistles contain, preserves, even in the simplicity of his style, all the vigour which it brought from heaven, its divine original.”

The following is a more exact specimen of Bossuet’s general manner.

“ I can scarcely listen to the idle objections, which worldly wisdom makes to us, on a false supposition, that God ought to have manifested himself to the world, with a splendor and a train, that should be thought worthy of his majesty. Miserably does opinion deceive us, if we think, that the splendor of this world contains any thing worthy of God, who himself possesses sovereign greatness. Shall I mention what strikes *me*, in the Babe of Bethlehem, as great and admirable, and truly worthy of a God, descending from heaven, and conversing with man. From on high, he saw that man was touched by nothing, but sensual pleasure, and external pomp. In his

“ wisdom he remembered, that he had created man
“ for much more solid happiness ; and, being re-
“ solved to shew, as much by his own example as
“ his precepts, the folly of these notions, and his
“ contempt of what this world admires, he chose
“ for his lot, what the world despises most. He
“ was pleased, therefore, to be born in a wretched
“ stable : but that stable becomes a triumphal car,
“ after which he drags the vanquished world.
“ There, all that the world has of ignominy, is con-
“ quered ; all its terrors, are treated with contempt ;
“ its pleasures, spurned ; its torments, braved. The
“ triumph of Christ over them is complete ; nothing
“ is left undone ; nothing, unfinished. And it ap-
“ pears to me, that, in the midst of this glorious
“ triumph, he turns to us, his animating counte-
“ nance, and loudly exclaims, ‘ Take courage ! I
“ have vanquished the world ! By the lowliness of
“ my birth ; by the obscurity of my life ; by the
“ cruelty and ignominy of my death, I have
“ trampled over all that men admire ;—all, they
“ esteem, and all they fear. This is the sign by
“ which you shall know me !’—Yes, O my God !
“ by this sign, I do know thee ! Thou art my
“ Saviour, and my God !”

With passages of beauty, equal to any transcribed in these pages, the sermons of Bossuet abound.

Passages of equal, but of very different beauty, abound also in the sermons of Massillon. The most popular of them are those which form his *Petit*

Carême. Cardinal Maury, however, is certainly correct, in thinking them inferior to his other sermons. But, we shall select the following extracts from them, as they express, though indirectly, the opinion of the preacher, on the reign of Lewis the fourteenth; and convey, with infinite delicacy, the best instruction, which has yet been conveyed, by a minister of the gospel, to an infant monarch. It may be added, that the rights of man, in the legitimate meaning of those words, have seldom had a more eloquent advocate. So much was this the case, that, during the contests between Lewis the fifteenth and his parliaments, large impressions of the *Petit Carême* were published, and industriously circulated, with a view of increasing the popular ferment.

Thus, in one of these celebrated sermons, Massillon expresses himself on the humanity which the great owe to the people.—“The great would be useless on earth, if the earth did not contain the poor and the wretched. So far are the people from being made for the great, that the great are, what they are, for the sake of the people. Terrible, indeed, would Providence be, if the bulk of mankind were placed on the earth, merely to serve for the pleasure of a small number of its privileged inhabitants. All that is real in the grandeur of these, is the use which they ought to make of it, for those who suffer:—they are only the ministers of Providence; and they lose their right to their greatness, as soon as they wish to be

“ great for themselves alone. They should reflect,
“ that nothing revolts men of low birth so much,
“ as the enormous space, which nature has placed
“ between them and the great; and that former
“ reigns of the monarchy have, more than once, seen
“ the people rise in arms, and combine to throw off
“ the yoke of the noble and the great, and conspire
“ for their extinction and ruin.”

Thus, the preacher guarded his royal hearer from the allurements of ambition :—“ Sire, if the poison
“ of ambition reach and infect the heart of the
“ prince; if the sovereign, forgetting that he is the
“ protector of the public tranquillity, prefer his own
“ glory to the love and safety of his people; if he
“ prefer conquering provinces to reigning over the
“ hearts of his subjects; if he think it more glo-
“ rious to be the destroyer of his neighbours, than
“ the father of his people; if the mourning and
“ desolation of his subjects be the only sound that
“ accompanies his triumph; if he turn to his own
“ use, the power, which was only given him to make
“ all his people happy; in one word, if he be only
“ king for the misery of mankind!—Great God,
“ what a scourge for the earth! What a present to
“ men do you make in your anger, in giving them
“ such a master! His glory will always be soiled
“ with blood. Some madman, perhaps, will sing
“ his victories;—but the provinces, the towns, the
“ villages will weep for them :—but, the ashes, still
“ smoking, of so many cities, which once flou-

“ rished ;—but, the desolation of so many plains,
“ plundered of their beauty and their riches ;—but,
“ the ruins of the walls, under which so many
“ peaceful citizens lie buried,—these calamities
“ will long survive him, and immortalize his vanity
“ and his folly. His name will be written in the
“ annals of posterity, among conquerors ; but the
“ history of his reign will only be remembered, for
“ the woes, which it brought upon mankind :—and
“ all this harvest of glory, will, in the end, prove no
“ more than a mass of filth, leaving nothing behind
“ it but foulness and infection.—On the other
“ hand, what glory is it for a king, to reign, after
“ his death, over the hearts of his subjects ; to be
“ certain that, in every future age, the people either
“ will regret not to have lived in his reign ; or con-
“ gratulate themselves on having a monarch who
“ resembles him :—to think that, in every age, the
“ nations of the earth will say, happy those who
“ saw him, and lived under his mild laws and go-
“ vernment ; happy the towns, happy the villages,
“ who saw, during his reign, peace, abundance, joy
“ and justice, dwell among them ; happy, they will
“ cry, will those nations ever be, whom heaven shall
“ bless with such a monarch !

“ Great God ! the giver of good kings !—Of that
“ greatest blessing, which you can bestow on na-
“ tions ! You *still* hold in your hands, the august
“ child, whom you have destined for our monarch.
“ His age, his innocence, *still* leave him the work

“ of your mercies.—Great God ! *as yet*,—there *is*
 “ time !—Form him for the happiness of the nation,
 “ to whom you have reserved him !—Make him, a
 “ king after your own heart !—Make him, O God !
 “ the father of your people ; the protector of your
 “ church ; the model of the morals of his subjects ;
 “ the pacifier, rather than the conqueror of nations ;
 “ the arbiter, rather than the terror of his neigh-
 “ bours.—May all Europe be more envious of our
 “ happiness, and delighted with our virtues, than
 “ jealous of our conquests and our victories.”

From the same series of sermons, extracts of equal beauty might be multiplied. Those presented to the reader will probably lead him to think, that lessons of more pure or more useful morality, were never offered from the pulpit to any monarch :—but no translation can give the reader an adequate notion of the exquisite beauty of the original ; of the simple elegance of its diction, the varied melody of its periods, the air of religious tenderness which pervades the whole, and throws over it an indescribable charm. Surrounded as the monarch was, by all the blandishments of a court, the sermons of Massillon must have produced some effect on his infant mind ; and instilled into it some invaluable principles of duty and religion.—Unfortunately, the tempters were on the watch, and the lessons of Massillon were soon forgotten.

It is pleasing to add, that throughout life, Massillon practised the virtues of the gospel, which he

preached. On his being raised to the see of Clermont, he bade a total adieu to the capital, and buried himself in his diocese, in the modest exercise of every pastoral and private virtue.—A short time after his decease, two English gentlemen, on their road through Clermont, desired to see his apartments, to indulge in the recollections, with which his eloquence and virtues had inspired them. They intimated their wish to one of the canons of the cathedral. He told them, that, since the prelate's decease, he had not had the courage to visit his apartments. “However,” he added, “I will accompany you to them.” He did so; and, as he passed through the rooms, mentioned to them the purposes, for which Massillon used them:—“Here,” said the canon, “he slept; here, he took his frugal meal; here, he received, with so much affability, the rich and the poor; here, he composed his immortal sermons;—and here,” he said, in the last room into which they passed,—“he died.”—With these words, he rushed from the room, unable to support his feelings, at the recollection of the loss.

It may be properly observed in this place, that Massillon is not the author of the *Memoirs of the Minority of Lewis the fifteenth*, which have that prelate's name.

Other prelates of equal merit illustrated the reign of Lewis the fifteenth. In 1740, Europe resounded with the virtues of the good bishop of Marseilles, who, when that city was visited with the plague,

shut himself in it, with both his secular and his regular clergy, administered to his flock every kind of spiritual and corporal assistance, and never left the place till the dreadful visitation ceased. A letter, which he wrote under these afflicting circumstances, is published in the third volume of Mr. Dodsley's Annual Register: "It represents in the "strongest manner," says the editor, "the conduct and sentiments of one of the most virtuous "of men, in one of the most trying exigencies, "incident to humanity." The secular and regular clergy of his diocese, attended him in this work of charity, and two hundred and fifty of them died of the contagion.

Another prelate, of equal merit, and, in his time, of equal celebrity in France, was M. la Mothe d'Orleans, the bishop of Amiens. His amiable character, and, above all, his charities to the poor, secured him universal veneration. His life has been written in two volumes duodecimo. It may be doubted, whether, from his receiving the order of priesthood, till his decease,—and his life was protracted far beyond the usual term,—he spent a single day, in which, in some form or other, he had not promoted religion, and benefitted his neighbour. In the disputes on jansenism, he was frequently at variance with the parliaments; but, so great was the esteem in which he was universally held, that the parliaments never ventured on any of those violences against him, with which they outraged other prelates.

XIV. 2.

The Secular Clergy, during the reign of Lewis the fifteenth.

AMONG the secular clergy, who ornamented this period of the French history, *Fleury*, the celebrated historian of the church, deserves particular mention. Equally the friend of Fenelon, and Bossuet, he preserved the favour and affection of each : but several expressions in his writings on mystic saints and mystic writers, shew, that, on the subject in dispute between these great adversaries, he sided with Bossuet. By the protection of that prelate, he preserved,—though he owed his appointment to Fenelon,—his office of sub-preceptor to the dukes of Burgundy and Anjou. On the accession of Lewis the fifteenth to the throne, the regent appointed Fleury to the important situation of confessor of the king, assigning as his reason, that “ he was sure the appointment “ would give universal satisfaction, as Fleury was “ neither a jansenist, a molinist, or an ultramon- “ tane.” It is the only instance, from the reign of Henry the fourth, till the expulsion of the jesuits, that this situation was not filled by a member of their order.

Fleury published several works : each is a masterpiece ; but he owes his renown principally to his history of the church, and to the dissertations inserted in it, which have been often printed separately. It

is one of the failings of the favourers of the ultramontane opinions, that they too often express themselves, with unbecoming harshness, on the subject of Fleury. Where the church has pronounced no decision, and leaves the faithful to determine for themselves, extreme censure of each adverse opinion should be avoided. Such censures are never less justifiable, than when they are applied to the works of an author of acknowledged learning, piety, taste and discernment. That these qualities were united in Fleury, no one can deny. Decency therefore requires, that, when a person differs from such a writer, he should express himself, if not with diffidence, at least with modesty. It is reproached to Fleury, that he exposes the conduct of the popes, and the abuses in the church, with too great freedom. Against this charge, he has ably defended himself in his Fourth Dissertation ;—sect. XIII, *Qu'il faut dire la verite toute entiere*. Where this rule is not observed, a person may be an useful partisan, or write edifying narratives, but he cannot aspire to the praise of authentic history. “An historian,” says Cicero, “should be equally fearful of suppressing truth, and writing falsehood.”—The example of the sacred penmen shews, that this is not more a rule of composition, than a precept of christian morality. If the evangelists did not veil the failings of Peter, what makes it a duty to veil the failings of Peter’s successors?

Fleury’s defence of some cisalpine doctrines, par-

ticularly in his *Discours sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, is also imputed to him as a crime. But his sentiments are those of Bossuet, La Marca, and, with a slight exception, of the universal clergy of France, the most enlightened in the roman-catholic world.

Besides,—it now appears, what had been long suspected, that great liberties have been taken with this celebrated discourse. From a recent publication of great value, *Nouveaux Opuscules de Fleury*, Paris, 1807, and the *Corrections and Additions to it*, subsequently published, it appears, that, in several editions of this interesting and important discourse, there are both omissions and interpolations.—It also appears, that Fleury both saw and lamented the abuse, which was made of the Gallican liberties: an abuse so great, that, to use his own words, the liberties of the Gallican church were often made her servitude*.

Other writers among the secular clergy, adorned the reign of Lewis the fifteenth. The most generally known of them is *Rollin*. His *Treatise on the Belles Lettres*, and his *Ancient History*, have been translated into every European language; and are perhaps the best works extant for instilling into the minds of youth, just principles of taste and a love of virtue.—*Bergier* defended the church against the deists and atheists, with great ability. *Vertot's* *Revolutions of Rome, Sweden, and Portugal*, have

(*.) The *Nouveaux Opuscules*, contains an authentic copy of the *Discourse* from the author's manuscript.—

been received by the public of every country, with equal favour. The last of these works, is considered by the French, to be surpassed in purity of style, by no work in their language. A host of other respectable writers, among the secular clergy, might be mentioned.

XIV. 3.

The Regular Clergy.

IN considering the services rendered to religion and literature by the regular clergy, during the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, one is oppressed with the multitude of writers of the first merit. The oratorians produced *Houbigeant, Le Brun and Thomassin*; and every biblical scholar acknowledges his obligations to the Hebraising Friars of the Rue St. Honoré.

Among the jesuits, the names of fathers *Berthier, d'Orleans, Brumoy, and Souciet* immediately occur. *Father la Rue and father Neuville*, without being rivals, were respectable successors of Bourdaloue.—*The History of the Treaty of Westphalia, written by father Bougeant*, is the best historical work, which the continent has produced; and, though little known in this country, was the breviary of all foreigners, who aspired to political distinction. It is to be lamented, that some light expressions, and, what is worse, a sprinkling of theological inaccuracy, deform *father Berruyer's Histoire du Peuple de Dieu*. If it were not open to this objection, it would be the best history extant in any language of the chosen seed.—In justice to him, it should, however,

be added, that the theological inaccuracy charged on this work is generally of so slight a kind, as to be discernible only by a theological microscope of a high power.

On the other side of the Gallican church, the shelves of every library, to use Mr. Gibbon's strong expression, groan under the immense labours of the Maurist monks. An interesting account of them is given in the *Histoire Littéraire de la Congregation de St. Maur*. One of them we shall particularize, in hopes, that it may animate some of our countrymen to a similar display of our historic treasures.

The work to which we refer, is Dom Bouquet's *Historiens des Gaules*. The title of the first volume of this work, is *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores : ou Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, (les plus anciens et les contemporains donnés dans leur langue originale), contenant tout ce qui s'est passé dans les Gaules avant l'arrivée des François, et plusieurs autres choses, qui regardent les François depuis leur origine jusqu'à Clovis ; le tout accompagné de Préfaces, de Sommaires, de Notes et de Tables, par le R. P. Dom Martin Bouquet, et autres Religieux Bénédictines, Paris, 1738*. The first volume was published in 1738, the sixteenth and last in 1814. The value of the work is enhanced by the learned dissertations, the ample table of contents, and the full index, inserted in each volume, and by the maps and other explanatory or illustrative matter, occasionally

introduced into the work. The tables of contents and indexes are framed with so much minuteness and skill, as to bring, at once, before the reader's eye, all that can be found in contemporary writers, respecting any fact; on which, he may seek for information : at the same time, that the dissertations are so copious and so ably executed, that there seldom is a point of importance or difficulty, on which the writers have not collected, for the reader, the learning and sentiments of all preceding writers. Dom Bouquet lived to finish the eight first volumes ; on his decease, the work was put into the hands of Dom Haudequier ; who, with a view to it, had, in Dom Bouquet's life-time, learned the Arabic language, to enable him to print, with a translation, the authors who have written, in that language, upon the crusades.—Both writers were Benedictine monks of the congregation of St. Maur ; and invaluable as the work is, it is by no means the only work of the same calibre, for which the last century was indebted to that learned community.—In surveying the collection, it is impossible not to feel a wish for a similar collection of our English historians, especially as both in number and value, they exceed those of France.

XIV. 4.

The Parochial Clergy.

WHILE the eminent lights of the church of France, thus preserved, during the reign of Lewis

the fifteenth, the lustre, which it had attained during the reign of his predecessor, that useful and venerable portion of men, the town and village curates, did not degenerate from their high reputation.—A few years before the commencement of the revolution, an eye witness of their conduct, whom none will suspect of partiality to any order of the clergy, M. Mercier, (*Mon Bonnet de Nuit*, 1 vol. p. 237), thus describes them. “I know many
 “of these good country curates. Notwithstanding
 “the extreme modicity of their livings, they find
 “means of doing infinitely more good, than pos-
 “sors, however generous, of millions. Their
 “judicious and active charity creates for them, a
 “thousand resources. Their lives are innocent ;
 “their manners decent : they live, far from the
 “noise and notice of the world. Unknown, forgot-
 “ten and content, their lives pass in the practice of
 “the duties, enjoined by the gospel. How pleasing
 “is it to me to render, thus publicly, justice to a
 “portion of men, I so greatly honour !”

It may be said of them, with the strictest truth, and surely it is no slight praise, that, till the very eve of the French revolution, there was not in France a child, however destitute, who, (if it were not the fault of himself or his parents), was not instructed thoroughly in his catechism ;—not a sick or dying man, however wretched, to whom his curate did not, with the most edifying zeal and perseverance,

administer all the spiritual comforts suited to his situation.

Occasionally there came to the aid of these venerable men, under the name of missionaries, a certain number of secular or regular priests, employed by the bishop of the diocese, to perform, what was termed a mission, within a particular precinct. They generally remained in it about ten or fourteen days, at the expense of the bishop or their own; and were wholly employed, from a very early to a very late hour of the day, in preaching, and instructing the flock; in withdrawing them from idleness and irregularity, and exciting them to industry and piety, by every means, that religion suggested to them.

“ If,” says cardinal Maury, (*Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chair* XX), “ there remain among us,
“ any trace of the ancient and nervous eloquence,
“ which is nothing else than the first cry of nature,
“ imitated, or repeated by art, it is in the missions,
“ among the villagers, that we must seek for examples of it. There, we shall find truly apostolical
“ men, and real orators, gifted with a strong and
“ bold imagination, acknowledging no other success,
“ than the conversions of repenting sinners; no
“ other applause, than their tears. Occasionally, they
“ fail in taste, and descend into too familiar details:
“ I admit it, but they open a breach; but they
“ force their way; but they place themselves in the
“ midst of conscience; but they inflame the imagi-

“ nation ; but they forcibly strike the senses ; but
“ the multitude follows, and listens to them, with
“ enthusiasm, and many of them have sublime
“ passages.

“ The missionary orator, most renowned in our
“ days, was M. Brydayne. He was highly gifted with
“ popular eloquence, full of animation ; abounding
“ in figures and pathos : no one possessed in the
“ same degree that he did, the rare talent of com-
“ manding an assembled multitude. The organ of
“ his voice was so powerful and happy, as to render
“ credible what ancient history relates of the decla-
“ mation of the ancients : he made himself as well
“ heard in open air, to an assembly of ten thousand
“ persons, as if he spoke, under the vault of the
“ most sonorous temple. In all he said, there might
“ be discovered that natural eloquence, which ori-
“ ginates from genius ; that bound of natural vigour,
“ which is superior to any imitation. His bold me-
“ taphors : his quick and vivid turns of thought and
“ expression, equally surprised, affected, and de-
“ lighted. His eloquence was always simple, but it
“ was always noble in its simplicity.—With these
“ endowments, he never failed to raise and preserve
“ the attention of the people ; they were never tired
“ of listening to him.”

In 1751, he preached in the church of St. Sul-
pice, at Paris. His renown had preceded him ; and
the temple was filled with the highest dignitaries of
the church, and state, decorated with the various

insignia of their ranks and orders.—The venerable man ascended the pulpit, cast a look of indignation and pity, on his audience,—remained in silence for some moments, and then, began his sermon in these words:—“In the présence of an audience of a kind so new to me, it might, my brethren, be thought, that I should not open my mouth, without entreating your indulgence to a poor missionary, who does not possess any one of the talents, which you are pleased to require from those, who address you on the salvation of your souls. My feelings are very different.—May God forbid, that any minister of the gospel shall ever think, he owes an apology for preaching to you, gospel truths: for, whoever you are, you, like myself, are sinners, in the judgment of God.—Till this day I have published the judgments of the Most High in straw-roofed temples: I have preached the rigours of penance to an audience, most of whom wanted bread. I have proclaimed, to the simple inhabitants of the villages, the most terrible truths of religion!—Unhappy man! what have I done! I have afflicted the poor, the best friends of my God! I have carried consternation and woe into simple and honest bosoms, which I ought rather to have soothed and comforted!—But here!—Where my eyes fall on the great, on the rich, on the oppressors of suffering humanity, or on bold and hardened sinners,—it is, here,—in the midst of these scandals, that I ought to make

“ the holy word resound in all its thunders, and
“ place on one side of me, death that threatens
“ you, and the great God who is to judge us
“ all.—Tremble before me, proud disdainful men,
“ who listen to me ! Tremble for the abuse of
“ favours of every kind, which God has heaped on
“ you ! Think on the certainty of death ; the un-
“ certainty of its hour ; how terrible it will be to
“ you ! Think on final impenitence,—on the last
“ judgment,—on the small number of the elect, and
“ above all, think on eternity ! These are the sub-
“ jects, upon which I shall discourse to you, and,
“ which, with the feelings I have mentioned, I ought
“ to unfold to you all in all their terrors.”

“ Who,” exclaims the cardinal Maury, “ does
“ not feel, both while he reads, and after he has
“ read, such an exordium, how much this eloquence
“ of the soul is beyond the cold pretensions of
“ the elegant men, with which our pulpits are
“ now filled?—Ye orators, who attend only to
“ your own reputation, acknowledge, here, your
“ master ! Fall at the feet of this apostolic man,
“ and learn, from a missionary priest, what is true
“ eloquence !”

Most perhaps of those, who read this passage and other passages of a similar strain, will be inclined to join in the cardinal's exclamation.—But the imitation of such passages is dangerous: the aspirant

to pulpit eloquence may be much more safely recommended to give his days and nights to the pages of Bourdaloue.

CHAP. XV.

ACCOUNT OF SOME REMARKABLE EVENTS, IN THE
GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, BETWEEN
THE PRECEDING PERIOD, AND THE COMMENCE-
MENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

HAVING brought these historical details, to the close of the reign of Lewis the fifteenth, the subject leads to a consideration of the principal events, in the history of the church of France, during the reign of his immediate successor. The account of them shall be premised by a mention of some intermediate events of importance, in the general history of the church.

They originated in the spirit of religious innovation, which appeared in Vienna, about the year 1753. It is said, that, in this year, the empress Maria-Theresa, admitted to her confidence, her two physicians, Van-Swieten and de Haen; that the families of each had long been

attached to the Jansenistical church of Utrecht; that Van-Swieten and de Haen successfully laboured to introduce the principles of that church, into the ecclesiastical councils of Vienna, and to recommend them to the empress and her ministers; that, in consequence of it, several persons, by whom these principles were professed, were appointed to professorships of theology and canon law; and works, in which they were inculcated, were put into the hands of the students. Stock, bishop of Rosona, president of the faculty of theology at Vienna, de Trauttmansdorf, bishop of Koningsgratz, de Spawn, bishop of Brixen, de Bergen, bishop of Mantoua, and de Salm, bishop of Gurck, are mentioned as the principal leaders of these innovations. It seems to be admitted that they suggested some salutary reforms. On this account, they were at first, favoured by several respectable persons; but, in proportion as the ultimate tendency of their views was unfolded, they became subjects of general alarm. Their principal object, appears to have been, to effect a vast reduction of the religious orders, to abolish their exemptions from the jurisdiction of the prelacy, to diminish greatly the intercourse, even in ecclesiastical concerns, with the see of Rome, and, speaking generally, to divide the church into a multitude of ecclesiastical republics—commensurate with the territories of the state,—all of them, acknowledging a nominal supre-

macy in the pope, and all completely subjugated, even in their spiritual constitutions, to the power of the state. Without any regard to established discipline or public feeling, devotion was to be simplified, unpleasant doctrines taught, and the second order of clergy emancipated, in a great measure, from the first.—Many able writers were employed to accredit this system :—In opposition to the established doctrine, it was termed, *Nova Disciplina, the New Discipline*. The principal events to which it gave rise, are the subject of the present chapter.

These are, I. The disputes on the work of John Nicholas de Hontheim, bishop of Myriophili, *in partibus infidelium*, and suffragan of the archbishop of Trêves, entitled, *Justini Febronii, Jurisconsulti, de Statu Ecclesiæ, et Legitimâ Potestate Romani Pontificis, Liber Singularis, ad reunendos dissidentes in Religione Christianos, compositus. Bullioni apud Guillelmum Evrardi, 1763* ; re-published with additions and corrections, in 1785 :—II. The articles on different points of religion, and religious discipline, which were signed at Ems, by the accredited agents of the elector of Cologne, the elector of Mentz, the elector of Trêves, and the archbishop of Saltzburgh, and afterwards sanctioned by their institutants :—III. The articles promulgated at the synod of Pistoia ; and subsequently condemned by Pius the sixth.

I.

Febronius.

THAT the efforts of the popes to acquire temporal power, is one of the most calamitous events in the history of the church, is a fact, which does not admit of doubt : and that, on several occasions, the popes have abused, and exceeded the spiritual power delegated to them by Christ, is an evil, which no one can call in question. The advocates of their conduct, in these instances, have often proved their greatest enemies. Among these, we may reckon the writers, who, while they admit in theory, the lawfulness of the cisalpine opinions, as they were maintained by the Gallican church, on the temporal and spiritual power of the popes, yet express themselves on the advocates of those opinions, in terms, which should scarcely be applied to obstinate heretics ; and, too often industriously confound the former with the latter.

Equally blameable are those, who push the cisalpine doctrines beyond their legitimate bearings ; or, who apply to ordinary occasions, and the general routine of business, the doctrines, to which the moderate and wise among the maintainers of cisalpine opinions, deem it lawful to resort, in extreme cases, only.—These appear to have been the errors

of John Nicholas de Hontheim. In the work, which we have mentioned, he describes the church as a republic ; and contends, that the pope holds, either by the gift of the church or by usurpation, all her spiritual power, and préeminence. His treatise was much read in Germany ; and the partisans of its doctrine, in many of its universities, became numerous. It was translated into French ; and Lessuire, a Premonstratensian monk, published an abridgement of it, in that language.—It was condemned, in 1764, by pope Clement the thirteenth ; censured, in 1775, by the assembly of the Gallican clergy ; and retracted, in 1778, by its author.

II.

The Congress at Ems.

THE advocates of the new discipline had long described the papal nunciatures in Germany, as abuses in the church, and repugnant to its true economy.

From the earliest time, it has been the acknowledged prerogative of the see of Rome, to send persons to represent her and exercise her powers, in foreign states. Such persons were generally deputed by the popes to preside at the œcumenical councils of the church ; and were often employed by them, upon particular missions. They were also often delegated to sovereign princes and states, to remain with them,

as guardians of the faith and discipline of the church, and its general interests. When employed on the latter missions, they were originally called the *Responsales* and *Apocrisarii*, or legates of the Roman see; a name derived to them from officers of a similar appellation, employed on legations, by the Byzantine court. In the middle ages, their power increased with the increasing pretensions of the popes. The kingdoms, through which they travelled, or in which they resided, were obliged to defray their expenses; and they raised on these, and particularly, on the ecclesiastics, large contributions. They also interfered, too frequently, with the spiritual concerns of the see, in which they resided. Such were their exactions, and misconduct, that St. Bernard, full as he was of reverence towards the holy see, declaims against them with indignation. Scarcely is there an European state, in which their undue exercise of power has not been a subject of great complaint, and of legislative enactments. Their privileges and duties were wisely moderated and finally settled by the council of Trent, *Sess. xxiv. cap. 20 de Refom.* Since that time, they have seldom been a subject of complaint.

At present, the papal envoys are called legates *a latere*, when they are cardinals; as these are supposed to have been near the person of the pope, and, in that sense, to have come from his side: they are

called legates, *quasi a latere*, where they are sent with the powers of legates *a latere*, and are not cardinals, but permitted, before they proceed on their legation, to touch, formally, the papal robe.—They are called *legati missi*, when, without either of these distinctions, they are sent with legatine authority; and *legati nati*, when they derive their power from the benefice, which they hold; and which, perhaps always, is an archbishopric. In this sense of the word, in England, the archbishop of Canterbury; in France, the archbishops of Arles and Rheims; in Germany, the archbishops of Cologne and Saltzburgh; in Hungary, the archbishop of Strigonium; in Spain, the archbishop of Toledo; in Poland, the archbishop of Gnesno; and in Bohemia, the archbishop of Prague, were legates born of the holy see. Strictly speaking, their power was vicarial, as they acted under the authority of the pope; but they were thought so intimately to represent him, that in opposition to the general maxim, *delegatus non potest delegare*, they might make any partial delegation of their authority.—In progress of time, they received the appellation, of *nuncios* of the pope; and there scarcely was an European catholic state of the first class, without a nuncio. When they were sent to an inferior state, or to any city, which was not the seat of empire, they were called *internuncios*. Where the discipline of the council of Trent is received, they have a regular court of ecclesiastical judicature; but, where the discipline of the council is not received,

they have no such court ; neither,—except that a general right of inspecting the lives and manners of the clergy is tacitly allowed them,—are they considered in any other light, than as ambassadors from the Roman court.

The principles of the reformation, soon after its commencement, were embraced by two successive archbishops of Cologne, and obtained a considerable footing in Switzerland and Holland. This gave rise to the nunciatures of Cologne, Lucerne, and Bruxelles. The electorate of Bavaria, and the electorate palatine, having united in the person of Charles Philip Theodore, a nunciature, on his application, was established at Munich, the capital of Bavaria ; and certain portions of the nunciatures of Cologne and Lucerne, were annexed to the new nunciature. This arrangement offended the emperor and some of the German archbishops. The archbishop of Cologne, brother to the emperor ; the archbishop of Mentz, and the archbishop of Treves, each of them an elector, in right of his see ; and the archbishop of Saltzburgh, met at Aschaffenburgh ; and, in August 1786, deputies from each of these prelates met at Ems, a protestant town, near Coblentz, and formed twenty-three articles. The principal object of these was, to assign to the bishops, the power of acting in certain cases, which were, by the common discipline of the church, reserved to the pope ; to prevent any appeal to the pope, without passing through the intermediate jurisdictions ; to suspend

the effect of all papal bulls, till the acceptation of them by the bishop ; and to abolish the nunciatures. The general body, both of the clergy and laity, opposed these innovations. Several of the most distinguished prelates in Germany,—as the bishops of Paderborn, Hildersheim, Wurtzburgh, Ratisbonne and Fulda,—took an active part against them. They could obtain no admission into Bavaria : and, in less than two years after the meeting of the congress, the electors of Mentz and Trêves made their peace with the pope.

III.

The Synod of Pistoia.

JOSEPH the second no sooner ascended the imperial throne, than he disclosed his projects of reform,—some of them of a civil, the greater part of a religious nature. That any of them were wisely conceived, may be doubted : that none of them were wisely executed, is universally acknowledged.—In allusion to the silliness and minutiae of his ecclesiastical regulations, the king of Prussia used to call the emperor, in derision, “ My Brother, the Sacristain.” Leopold, the grand duke of Tuscany, and brother of the emperor, was infected with a similar mania for reform ; but, being of a milder disposition, he acted with less inconsiderateness, and had fewer steps to retrace. Unfortunately, he gave his countenance, to Scipio Ricci, bishop of Pistoia. Abbé

Blanchard, in his *Precis Historique de la Vie, et du Pontificat, de Pie VI.* 1 vol. 8vo.; M. Bourgoing, in his *Memoires Historiques, et Philosophiques, sur Pie VI.* 2 vol. 8vo.; and M. Picot, in his *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire ecclesiastique pendant le XVIII. siecle*, 4 vol. 8vo.—agree in describing Ricci as a shallow, vain, and daring man. “He was,” says Bourgoing, “rather a favourer of innovation, than of reform;—and, had there been no superstition in Tuscany, a mere love of meddling would have made him busy himself in introducing it.”—In the midst of his regulations, Leopold professed to respect the substance of religion. “I wish,” he used to say, “to reform the discipline of the church; but I will never meddle with her doctrine.”—Ricci was not so timid. He convened a synod, in his episcopal city of Pistoia. It seems to have consisted of about two hundred and twenty ecclesiastics, collected from different parts of Italy, and known by their attachment to the new discipline. It was opened on the 18th of September 1786; and closed, on the 28th of the same month.—Bourgoing says, that “the members of the synod, with the exception of five, adhered, not only to the changes of discipline which Ricci suggested, but to his heterodox opinions on faith, grace, the authority of the church, and predestination.” His example was followed by the bishops of Collé and Arezzo; each of whom convened his synod with similar views. Their

synods, however, were far from attaining the unhappy celebrity of that of Pistoia.

The archbishops of Florence, Pisa and Sienna, with ten other Tuscan prelates, explicitly refused to adhere to the acts of the Pistoian synod; and all the respectable portion of the clergy condemned them: Leopold, however, supported Ricci. The death of the emperor Joseph calling Leopold to the imperial throne, he left Tuscany in a high state of agitation; but authorized the provisional government, which he formed before he left it, to restore every thing to its ancient state. The new grand duke entering into these views, compelled Ricci to resign his bishopric; and soon, to the equal satisfaction of the pope and grand duke, all matters in difference between them were accommodated.

In the year 1794, pope Pius the sixth condemned the acts of this celebrated synod, by the bull *Auctorem Fidei*. In this bull, his holiness extracts eighty-five assertions from the acts of the synod, and ranges them, according to their different subjects, under forty-four distinct titles. Some he condemns as heretical; some, as schismatical; some, as dangerous; others, with other imputations of guilt, or inaccuracy;—assigning to each, its proper qualification.

While these proceedings were carrying on, Germany and Italy were inundated with the writings of the favourers of the new discipline, and of its opponents. One of the most remarkable of these

publications, was a small pamphlet, written by *Eybel*, professor of canon law at Vienna, under the title, *Quis est Papa*; and translated into French, by Deschamps de Saucour. It was answered by a very able publication, intitled, *Quis est Petrus*. Between these publications, Pehem's *Prælectiones in Jus Ecclesiasticum universum*, 4 vol. 8vo. *Lovanii*, 1787, holds a middle place.—It should be observed, that the opinions of the advocates of the new discipline, pushed not only the consequences of their principles, but the principles themselves, far beyond the doctrines of the Gallican church, as they were held and explained by La Marca, Bossuet, Fleury, and other approved writers. The new doctrine had no where more able or more zealous opponents, than in that school. It is both imprudent, and unjust, to confound them.

CHAP. XVI.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

5th May 1789—30th September 1791.

IN his *Succinct History of the Revolutions of the German Empire*, the writer of these pages has briefly noticed the principal circumstances, which, in his opinion, most powerfully contributed to produce the French revolution. It is not a little remarkable,

that, what immediately led to the disorganization of the monarchy, was the circumstance of the clergy's too hastily uniting themselves to the tiers-etat, or third estate; and thus giving the members of the tiers-etat, that preponderance which they afterwards so greatly abused.

According to the ancient constitution of France, the three orders, of which the states-general consisted, were to assemble in separate chambers; and each order to vote separately. To this mode of assembling, when the states were convened by Lewis the sixteenth, the tiers-etat objected: and, on account of the system of taxation, intended to be carried against the two privileged orders, were, at first, supported in their objections, by the court. After some discussion, it was settled, that the three orders should meet in one deliberative assembly; and vote by the head. The king being soon dissatisfied with their proceedings, issued a peremptory order for the suspension of the assembly; and placed a guard at the door of the chamber to prevent its meeting. In direct opposition to this order, M. de Bailly, the president of the tiers-etat, accompanied by three-fourths of the deputies of that order, repaired to the chamber of the states, and demanded admission. This was refused, and the assembly transferred the sitting to the Tennis-court, in the street called, *La Rue du Vieux Versailles*. There they took the celebrated oath, "not to separate, till a legal constitution should be established."—

They then adjourned to the church of St. Lewis ; and were joined by several of the clergy, and some of the nobility. This memorable event took place on the 20th of June 1789.—On the 23d, the deputies of the three orders repaired, by the mandate of the king, to the hall of the states-general. After one of the wisest, and most affectionate speeches, ever delivered by a monarch to his subjects, the king commanded them to separate ; and to repair, on the following morning, each to the chamber appropriated to his order, and there, to resume its sittings. After the king had left the hall, almost all the bishops, some of the priests, and the greater part of the nobility, in obedience to the command, with which the king had concluded his speech, retired from the hall. But the tiers-etat remained in it, and, to use their own language, “ determined to “ continue their labours.”—On the following day, the orders of the clergy and nobility assembled in their respective chambers ; while the deputies of the tiers-etat resumed their sittings, in the hall of the states. In the chamber of the clergy, it became immediately a subject of debate, whether, in obedience to the king’s order, they should continue their sittings in their chamber, or join the tiers-etat. After a discussion of two hours, the cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, the president, collected the votes : two hundred and ninety-four members were present : one hundred and forty-two voted for the junction ; one hundred and forty-three against it.

The remaining nine declined voting. Thus, the opinion for conforming to the king's command, had the majority. Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld then pronounced the resolution, dissolved the meeting, and, with many of the members who had voted with the majority, quitted the hall. But, the minority insisted upon continuing the sitting. Among these, were the archbishops of Bourdeaux and Vienne. The latter was voted, by acclamation, into the president's chair. The resolution for joining the tiers-etat was then voted by a considerable majority of the members present: and these, with the two archbishops at their head, carried the resolution into the hall of the tiers-etat; and took their seats among them.—The next day, a minority of the nobility, among whom was the duke of Orleans, also joined the tiers-etat.—On a subsequent day, the number of the clergy who joined it, was increased by the archbishop of Paris, and the bishops of Orange and Autun. Still, a great majority of the order of the nobility, and one half, at least, of the deputies of the clergy, persisted in their resolution of not joining the tiers-etat: but, on the 27th, all joined it, by an express and written injunction of the king.—Each order having taken its place, the cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, as president of the order of the clergy, and the duke of Luxembourg, as president of the order of nobility, announced the union.—M. de Bailly replied to the two orders, in the following words:—"Gentlemen, the happiness of this day,

“ which unites the three orders, is such, that exces-
 “ sive joy disables my answering you as it deserves :
 “ but, the joy is itself an answer. The order of the
 “ clergy was already with us ; and now the order
 “ of the nobility joins us. This day shall be entered
 “ among the holy days of our calendar ; it completes
 “ our family : it for ever puts an end to the dissen-
 “ tions, which have mutually affected us ; it accom-
 “ plishes the wish of the king ; and the national
 “ assembly, or rather the states-general, will now
 “ proceed, without confusion or interruption, to
 “ the regeneration of the kingdom, and of public
 “ happiness *.”

* Among the clergy, no one took so distinguished a part,
 in every stage of the revolution, as the abbé Sieyès. “ Sieyès,”
 (says M. Hue, *Dernières Années du regne et de la vie de*
Louis XVI, p. 20), “ was born at Frejus in Provence, and
 “ was vicar-général of the bishop of Chartres, and canon of
 “ the cathedral of that city. He owed to a political pamph-
 “ let, intitled, *What is the Tiers-etat?* his place among the
 “ representatives sent to the assembly. The paradoxical pub-
 “ lication professed to prove, that the tiers-etat should, at the
 “ states-general, be represented by a number of members,
 “ double to that of the members sent by the two other states.
 “ By a calculation of proportions, and a chain of sophistical
 “ consequences, he drew his conclusion, that the tiers-etat
 “ constituted the nation. These principles, so well adapted
 “ to the temper and circumstances of the times, fixed on the
 “ abbé Sieyès, the looks of all the innovators.—Jealous, even
 “ to hatred, of all above him, sighing for the equality of
 “ which the reveries of some modern visionaries had given him
 “ the idea, obstinate in his views, intractable by nature, but
 “ pliant and seductive, when his interest required, courted by
 “ all parties, attached to none, his talents and good fortune

Foreigners were much surprised at the readiness, with which so considerable a proportion of the clergy deserted the royal cause.—Three reasons have been assigned for their conduct : 1st. It was an universal opinion, even of wise and good men, in France, that the abuses of every branch of the government, were so great, that a radical reform was become absolutely necessary ; and could only be effected, by imposing some strong restraints upon the absolute power of the monarch. This, it was not irrational to suppose, could only be done by a general assembly of the nation. 2dly. The very unequal distribution of the church revenues, was severely felt by the lower clergy. While enormous benefices were accumulated on the heads of some favoured individuals, and many clergy of the second order, who did little or no service to the church, enjoyed ample incomes, a great majority of the parish priests had a very slender provision. The incomes of many of them were even scandalously small ; and it too often happened, that, in their communications with their higher brethren, they were made to feel, too much, their inequality. On these accounts, though nothing could be further from their wishes, than the disturbance of the hierarchy, they naturally wished

“ carried him successfully through the revolution. Sometimes
“ enveloped in a cloud of darkness, sometimes bursting from
“ it, and then immediately disappearing, Sieyes, in every
“ change of faction, preserved his influence and maintained
“ his ascendant.”

for an increase of their stipends, and a nearer elevation to their dignified brethren:—and this, from a new order of things, they were easily led to expect. 3dly. In the year 1766, a commission was established, by the king's arrêt, for the reform of religious orders. That, in some houses, a reform was necessary, seems to be generally admitted.—Unfortunately, the commission was entrusted to persons, whose piety and talents have been equally doubted. The general effect of their proceedings was to increase the insubordination, which the commission was intended to remove: and the members, who imbibed this unhappy spirit, were active in its propagation.—It may be added, that the disputes on jansenism, had brought appeals to the people into common use; and, when such appeals are common, they too often produce a general spirit of resistance to authority.—Under all these circumstances, it is easy to account for the readiness, with which a considerable part of the clergy joined the tiers-etat. But, with very few exceptions, the views of all were honourable; and the general body preserved its integrity.

It is beside the object of these pages, to make any particular mention of the proceedings of the national assembly, further than as they relate to the civil constitution of the clergy,—the subject of the next chapter.

For the present, it is sufficient to observe, that,

on the 5th of May 1789, the states-general held their first sitting; that, on the 11th of the same month, they assumed the name and character of the national assembly of France, and immediately proceeded to frame the articles of its new constitution; that the whole was read to the assembly on the 4th of August 1791; that on the 3d of the following September, they decreed the constitutional act to be closed;—that, on the following day, they presented it to the king; that he immediately accepted it; that, on the 13th of the same month, he proceeded to the hall of the assembly; solemnly declared his acceptance of the constitution; and swore to observe it; and that, on the 30th of the same month, the assembly dissolved itself.

The number of the members should have been one thousand two hundred; three hundred of the clergy, three hundred of the nobility, and six hundred of the tiers-etat. Those, who took their seats, were of the following classes in society:

Of the Order of the Clergy :

48	Archbishops or bishops	-	-	-	} 291
35	Abbots or canons	-	-	-	
208	Curates or parish priests	-	-	-	

Of the Order of the Nobility :

1	Prince of the blood	-	-	-	} 270
269	Gentlemen,—28 of these were magistrates of supreme courts and balliages	-	-	-	

Of the Order of the Third Estate :

2	Priests	-	-	-	-	-	}	652
12	Gentlemen	-	-	-	-	-		
12	Mayors or Consuls	-	-	-	-	-		
162	Magistrates of different tribunals	-	-	-	-	-		
272	Advocates	-	-	-	-	-		
16	Physicians	-	-	-	-	-		
176	Merchants, monied men, or farmers	-	-	-	-	-		
								1,213

The real fabricators of the constitution were Target, Thouret, Emery, and Desmeuniers. On its merit, as a proper constitutional code for the kingdom of France, opinions were divided : In Mr. Burke, it found an able adversary ; in the author of the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, an able advocate.

CHAP. XVII.

THE CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY.

SOON after the first sitting of the national assembly, a committee on ecclesiastical concerns was formed. It was composed, chiefly of advocates, many of whom were known to entertain principles, unfavourable to the actual economy of the church. The plan, which they produced for its reform, gave general offence to the clergy. In order to make the eccle-

siastical divisions of France correspond with the civil divisions, into which they proposed to cast it, they reduced the bishoprics from one hundred and thirty-five to eighty-three, the number of the new departments;—assigning a bishop to each, and making the metropolitan sees accord with this arrangement. They suppressed all the chapters, abbeys, priories, chapels, and sinecure benefices, of the kingdom. A bishop, on his election, was simply to signify it to the pope, as head of the church; and to apply for institution to the metropolitan, or the most ancient bishop of the province. The choice both of bishops, and curates, was confided to the bodies of electors, who nominated to the civil administrations; without any regard to the religion of the electors.

While their property was in question, the clergy passively acquiesced in the decrees of the assembly: and the generality of them offered to acquiesce in the present arrangement, with a saving of the spiritual rights of the church. But, though the national assembly had absolutely disclaimed all interference in the spiritual part of every religious arrangement, they refused to admit of any such reserve, or explanation; and imposed an oath on the clergy,—binding them to observe the constitution, as decreed by the assembly, in all cases whatsoever. All, without any exception or distinction, who should refuse to take this oath, were to be immediately ejected from their benefices, and others substituted in their place.

“This decree,” says M. Hue, (*Dernieres*

Années du Règne et de la Vie de Louis XVIII, 2d edit. p. 159), “threw the king into the greatest anxiety. Eldest son of the church, true to his title of most christian king, to the religion of Charlemagne and St. Lewis, to the maxims of Bossuet and Fenelon, to those of his preceptor, the bishop of Limoges; persuaded, like his ancestors, that, in matters of religion, the church only had the right to dictate, Lewis feared to compromise his conscience by sanctioning this decree. ‘It shocks,’ he frequently said to those near him, ‘all my religious opinions. I behold in it, a source of endless religious persecution in my kingdom.’ Full of this idea, he delayed, as long as circumstances allowed, to give his final explanation. They pressed him on every side:—still, he paused. At length, they succeeded in persuading him, that, if he temporized any longer, the people would rise, and carry themselves to the most seditious extremities, against the priests and nobles. Then, the king made that sacrifice to the tranquillity of the nation, which he would not have done to his own safety. On the 26th of December 1790, he sanctioned the decree.”

By persons, from whom such a conduct could not have been expected, an important document on this subject was concealed from the monarch. The pope had fully, and with the utmost energy, expressed his disapprobation of the civil constitution of the clergy,

in a brief addressed to the king, on the 10th of the preceding July, accompanied by two briefs of the same date, one addressed to the archbishop of Vienne, who held the *Feuille des Benefices*, or the nomination to all ecclesiastical benefices in the gift of the crown ; the other, to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, the keeper of the seals in France. The prelates answered his holiness, on the 28th of the same month ; but concealed the three briefs from the knowledge of the king ;—and concealed from the pope, their detention of his brief to the monarch.

One hundred and thirty-one prelates, composed, at this time, the hierarchy of France. Of these, three only took the oath of adherence to the constitution : their conduct was far from being generally approved. Even the more moderate of the democrats regretted, and condemned, as a harsh and imprudent measure, the forcing of such an oath. Those, who wish to see a full and able statement of the objections to it, will find it in the *Exposition des Principes sur la Constitution civile du Clergé, par les Eveques deputés a l'Assemblée nationale*, the production of the archbishop of Aix :—those, who wish to see the ablest defence of it, which was produced at the time, may read “ *Accord des Vraies principes de l'Eglise, de la morale, et de la raison sur la Constitution civile du Clergé, par les Eveques des Department, Membres de l'Assemblée constituante.*” It was the production of M.

Gregoire, afterwards constitutional bishop of Blois : but, even he acknowledges, (*Legitimité du Serment civique*), that, in the constitution, “ the authority “ of the popes is not sufficiently propounded.”

CHAP. XVIII.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

31st September 1791—10th August 1792.

MANY, who have attentively considered the French revolution, ascribe much of its misfortunes and calamities, to the unwise decree, by which the members of the national assembly enacted their own ineligibility to the succeeding legislative assembly. That the national assembly possessed many members of talents and virtue, it is impossible to deny. Constituted, as the public opinion of the French nation was, at the commencement of the revolution, an assemblage of greater worth, or talent, could scarcely be expected. In the sittings of the assembly, and from the events, which accompanied them, the members had acquired experience ; and this experience led many of them to better councils. Some of the most ardent opposers of the court, among whom Mirabeau may certainly be numbered, had become sensible of the errors of their own conduct, and of the dreadful calamities, which it tended to produce. It seems, therefore, highly probable, that, if the

national assembly had continued its sittings, or a considerable proportion of its members been elected into the legislative assembly, many of the dreadful scenes, which immediately followed its dissolution, might have been prevented. “Unfortunately for France,” says Dr. Moore, in his *View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution*, chap. XXVIII, “the legislative assembly contained less wisdom, than its predecessor. It was composed of men, not only less respectable from their rank in society, but, in general, of inferior abilities. There were, however, in it, a few men of distinguished talents; a greater number, of a considerable share of learning; but the ideas of both these classes, on the subject of government, had not been matured by long reflection, nor corrected by experience. The remainder, forming by far the greatest proportion, consisted of men, with no pretensions to knowledge; some of them, of impetuous characters and enthusiastic imaginations, who had been elected merely on account of their zeal and activity in the revolution. Nothing very wise or politic was to be expected from their conduct;—but, even from these men, the ferocity of action, which they soon after displayed, could not have been foreseen.”

In their first sitting, the legislative assembly discovered their hostility to the king, and it was soon perceived, that, between it and the monarch, a conflict of extermination, must inevitably ensue.—The emigration followed; and from that time, to apply

the language of Montesquieu, (*Grandeur et Decadence des Romains*),—"The territory contained, during a long period of time, but two descriptions, of persons; those, who, inflicted, and those, who, suffered, oppression. The well-intentioned men retired from public employments; and fled from their country, as from an accursed land."

The constitution had proclaimed universal religious toleration.—Under the legislative assembly, every mode of worship was tolerated and protected, except the ancient religion of the country. The priests, who refused to take the civic oath, and such of the flock, as, refused to acknowledge the constitutional bishops, were objects of derision and violence. The churches of these were shut; or, if they remained open, the vilest populace were permitted to profane them by indecent and impious outrages. The inclosures of the nuns were repeatedly violated, and every indignity offered them: The priests were incessantly insulted; and numbers imprisoned. On the 26th of May 1792, the legislative assembly passed a decree for the banishment of every priest, who should refuse to take the civic oath. The monarch refused to sanction it; and, on the 19th of that month, affixed to it, formally, his veto. On the following day, an armed mob penetrated into the Thuilleries, and endeavoured to frighten him into a sanction of the decree; but, the monarch was immovable.—This increased the violence of the legislative assembly, and of their adherents:—to use

their own language, they determined to uncatholicise France, and republicanise the constitution. Forty-six of the forty-eight sections, into which Paris was divided, addressed the assembly, and entreated the members to decree, that the king had forfeited the throne. The address was presented by petition : the assembly fixed the 9th of August for its discussion.

Towards the end of the month, the assembly passed a decree, which ordered, that all ecclesiastics, who had not taken the oath, or, who having taken, had retracted it, should, within the term of eight days, quit their dioceses ; and, within the term of fifteen, leave the kingdom, under pain of imprisonment for ten years. This was called the Decree of Deportation. We shall attempt to give the reader, I. Some account of the persecution of the nonjuring clergy ; II. Of the chief instigators of this persecution ; III. And, of the reception of the persecuted clergy in England.

I.

The Persecution of the French Nonjuring Clergy.

THE sufferings of the French nonjuring clergy, during the period, to which the subject of these pages has led us, no pen can adequately tell. They were aggravated by the unfeelingness ; the low insolence ; the vulgar barbarity, and disgusting mockery, by which they were uniformly accompanied. The bitterest enemies of the clergy, acknowledge, not only their sanctity, but their modest and unpretending

beneficence. An account of this dreadful persecution has been written by the abbé Barruel, in his *Histoire du Clergé pendant la Revolution Française*, in one volume 8vo. With the horrors of the revolution before his eyes, the abbé would have been more or less than man, if he had not felt them strongly : it was natural, that he should write as he felt. The warmth, with which his work is written, has detracted, in the minds of some, from its credibility. But, the truth of his narrative admits of no doubt. This work has been universally read, passed through many editions, and much criticised ; yet, not a single fact mentioned in it, has been disproved. It closes with the names of one archbishop, two bishops, two hundred and five priests, who were massacred in the prisons of Paris on the 2d and 3d of September 1792, without trial, and even without the imputation of any crime, the legislative assembly, all the while, holding its regular sittings, and taking no notice whatever of the dreadful outrages. “From the 10th of August 1792,” says M. Picot, in his *Memoires pour servir a l’Histoire ecclesiastique pendant le dix-huitieme siecle*, “crowds of persons were arrested and heaped together in the old religious houses : for tyranny now made use of these asylums of peace and piety, for receptacles of the objects of its fury ; and, after having made the people rise to destroy one Bastille, it formed numerous others, and filled them, with the friends of religion and the monarchy. These prisons soon became too small to contain

“ all, that were led into them. It was thought that,
“ to leave the prisoners in quiet, and to wait the
“ consequences of their trial, would be acting with
“ too great kindness, and deferring their sufferings
“ too long. The massacre of them, en masse, was
“ therefore preferred.—To accomplish this horrid
“ resolution, the promoters of the measure em-
“ ployed those men, who had recently overturned
“ the throne,—the miscreants, whom the south had
“ vomited into the capital ; the wretches, whom the
“ jacobins retained, and who were always ready to
“ execute their orders. The butchery began with
“ some priests, who, in obedience to the decrees of
“ deportation, were leaving the kingdom. They
“ were stopped, as they passed through Paris ; after
“ a thousand insults, led to the abbey of St. Ger-
“ mains, then changed into a prison ; and, as they
“ entered it, assassinated. Elevated by this first ex-
“ ploit, the murderers cut the throats of about forty
“ priests, who, with many of the laity, were con-
“ fined in that prison. Thence, they proceeded to
“ the convent of the Carmelites, in the street called
“ Vaugirard. There, one hundred and eighty priests
“ were confined with some laics. At the head of
“ these ecclesiastics, were Dulau, the archbishop
“ of Arles, and two brothers, the bishops of Beau-
“ vais, and of Saintes, of the house of Roche-
“ foucauld.—The ferocious band rushed on this
“ defenceless flock ; and the house, the church, and
“ the garden were stained with blood.—The arch-

“ bishop, after giving his blessing, from the altar,
“ to his companions in misery, presented himself to
“ the executioners, and received their blows, with
“ a firmness, worthy of this pious and venerable pre-
“ late. The other bishops and priests imitated his
“ constancy and resignation. Besides the three bi-
“ shops, there were, in that prison, many ecclesias-
“ tics, known by their writings and talents. (Among
“ them, was M. Guérin de Rochér, the author of
“ *l’Histoire véritable du Temps fabuleux*, perhaps
“ the most learned man in France; and, as much
“ respected for his exemplary piety and humility,
“ as he was for his learning). Of one hundred and
“ eighty-five priests, confined in the abbey, forty
“ only escaped from the swords of the assassins.—
“ On the following day, ninety priests, confined in
“ the abbey of St. Firmin, were massacred by these
“ wretches: others, lost their lives at La Force, and
“ in other prisons at Paris.—The perpetrators of
“ these murders, were not, in the slightest degree,
“ disturbed during the execution of their horrid
“ projects. The municipality of Paris, who had
“ raised the spirit, took no pains to check its course;
“ and the legislative assembly was satisfied, with the
“ assurances sent to it, from time to time, that ‘the
“ people was good;’ and that the blood spilt, was
“ only that of a few conspirators.—The example,
“ given by the capital, inflamed the zeal of the other
“ departments.—The municipality of Paris, wrote
“ a circular letter, animating them to imitate their

“ example.—The letter is still in existence ;—a
“ monument of disgrace to a century, in which so
“ much was said of toleration and humanity ! This
“ frightful epistle was a sentence of death on all
“ the priests confined at Meaux, Chalons, Rennes,
“ and Lyons. It was put into execution, at the very
“ time, when the priests were expatriating them-
“ selves, in obedience to the decree of the 26th of
“ August. In several places, the accounts which
“ were circulated of the events on the 2d and 3d
“ of September, as well as those received from all
“ parts of the ferocious imitations of them, called
“ similar mobs into activity. And thus, in many
“ parts of the kingdom, men, peaceably retiring
“ from it, in obedience to the decree for their
“ banishment, were pursued, loaded with abusive
“ language, beaten, and assassinated. Emissaries
“ were sent from Paris, to inflame the minds of the
“ provinces. Many towns witnessed, within their
“ walls, horrible scenes of barbarity, and atrocious
“ murder,—fires, into which the tyrants plunged
“ their victims ; hideous processions, in which the
“ bleeding remains were carried in a kind of tri-
“ umph ; frightful exhibitions, in which, limbs,
“ still palpitating served as a spectacle to their
“ executioner. The phrenzy, with which the minis-
“ ters of religion were pursued, is inconceivable ;
“ the people seemed delighted with their torments.
“ One would have imagined, that these unfortunate
“ victims had ceased to be human beings ; or rather,

“ that their persecutors had lost every sense of humanity. The wild vertigo which possessed them, made the death of a priest appear in their eyes, an offering worthy of zeal.”

Such was the persecution of the nonjuring priests of France, during the last month of the legislative assembly. The persecution was continued, with equal violence, by the national convention, the subject of the following chapter. It decreed, that all priests should take the oath of liberty and equality, and, that all, who refused to take it, should be exported (*deporté*), from the kingdom. In consequence of this decree, the priests were arrested, wherever they were found ; tied together as malefactors ; dragged from town to town ; ill-treated by their guards ; abused by lawless mobs ; crowded into prisons, carried thence to vessels too small to receive them ; and forced to work in them as galley slaves. Seven hundred of these unhappy men were put on board two vessels, that lay off Rochfort. An account of their horrid sufferings has been published. On perusing it, the reader must be divided between horror at their sufferings, and admiration of their patience. In that dreadful state, they were permitted to remain eleven months. One-third only of them survived that period ; these were disembarked, and the vessels stowed with other priests. In other places, the priests were treated with equal cruelty. “ The roads of France,” says the abbé Barruet, “ were covered with fifty thousand priests,

“ flying or carried off, in all directions, to the ports
 “ that were to receive them, or the frontier towns
 “ which they hoped to reach,—conjuring the God
 “ of mercy to abridge the term of the sufferings of
 “ their unhappy country,—a country more wretch-
 “ ed in its loss of its ancient manners, and virtues,
 “ than these, in the midst of their sufferance.”

What added to the enormity of these horrid scenes, and, if the word may be used, what made the spirit which produced them more unaccountable, was, that the lower clergy, of whom the general body of these unhappy sufferers consisted, were at once the most beneficent, and the most lowly and humble of human beings; not only the friends, but the companions of the poor; who broke their bread with them, and who shared, with unfeigned sympathy, in all their abjection and woe.

II.

The Instigators of the Persecution.

THE transactions, which we have mentioned, excited the disgust and astonishment of every civilized nation. To what this spirit of cruelty should be ascribed, became a subject of wonder and discussion. Some ascribed it to the general, though latent disposition of the French character, in which Voltaire had long noticed the strange mixture of the tyger and the monkey.—But this is calumnious:—Before the æra of these horrors, no rank in France discovered,

in its ordinary habits, any thing like a disposition to cruelty ; and nothing of it was discoverable in her general history. On the contrary, the universal compassion shewn at Paris, to the German troops, and the exertions of all orders for their relief, in the war of the Fronde ; the profusion of charity afforded, at the instance of St. Vincent of Paul, to the sufferers in Champagne and Lorraine ; and, to come at once to our own times, the humane and active relief which the wounded Swiss received, who defended the king on the 10th of August ; and, which the wounded in the late battle of Paris, received in the metropolis, incontestibly prove, that humanity is a part of the genuine French character. Some ascribe the cruelties, which we have mentioned, to the writings of the French modern philosophers ; and that, to a certain extent, these contributed to it, by removing from so many breasts, the mild, the salutary, and the beneficent principles of christianity, must be conceded. But, speaking generally, the writings of the philosophers cannot be justly accused of inculcating a spirit of cruelty.—Others describe it as a temporary vertigo. “ It should seem,” said a French gentleman to the writer of these pages, “ that cruelty was in the air. Often, and often, “ have I seen a person retire to his bed, a good parent, a good brother, and a good friend. The “ following day, I have seen the same person, I will “ not say a bad man, but a monster.”

Perhaps, the circumstance may be accounted for

satisfactorily, by observing, that, early in the revolution, an unfortunate assemblage was organised in the metropolis, of men of great ferocity of character, daring enterprise, and brutal manners; but, of no mean talents; whose principles were destructive of all constituted authorities; whose minds and hearts were determinately bent on carrying their projects into execution; and who, in the prosecution of them, were not to be deterred by crime, terrified by danger, or withheld by pity. “Near the hall of the national assembly,” says M. la Cretelle, (*Precis Historique de la Revolution Française, secondé edition, p. 33*), “another assembly met in the hall of the ancient convent of the Dominican, or Jacobine friars, from whom they received their appellation. They began their sittings in the evening, and continued them till a very late hour. A few lamps threw a faint light over the vault of the hall. To obtain admittance, it was almost necessary to be poorly dressed; and, as they entered the hall, even the lowest of men assumed still lower manners,—even the most ferocious, assumed a still more ferocious aspect. In Paris alone, there were one thousand five hundred members of this society; a multitude of obscure accomplices filled the tribunes. The sittings opened with revolutionary songs; sometimes, dismal, as ushering in scenes of death; sometimes horridly gay. These were followed by reading their correspondence with the societies of a similar kind, which they

“ established in every town, and almost every village
“ in France. Then the list, and the praise, of the
“ massacres followed ; and, after them, the denun-
“ ciations and proscriptions of those, who were de-
“ voted to death. Then their debates began, equally
“ burlesque and terrible. Thither, any member of
“ the national convention, whose violence had re-
“ ceived a check, was sure to repair, and denounce
“ his opposer. Such confusion reigned in this meet-
“ ing, that no settled results could be expected
“ from it : yet no project of crime was ever pro-
“ duced in it, that was thrown away. No sooner
“ was it proposed, than there was a contest, who
“ should most eloquently urge, most skilfully con-
“ trive, or most powerfully conduct its execution.
“ The strength of this strange assembly, lay in dis-
“ covering and employing the talents of men, whose
“ stupid, low, and abject appearance, would have
“ made them the scorn of every other party. They
“ contrived to put into requisition, the vices of
“ every individual in France. Fanatics were among
“ them ; but the majority of the leaders were the
“ hypocrites of fanaticism. Some thirsted for blood ;
“ some for gold. To the former, cruelty was a
“ want of the soul ; to the latter, a money-calcula-
“ tion. All publicly insulted pity, as the last weak-
“ ness of the heart.”—Such were the men who
obtained the ascendancy in France ; and who fright-
ened innumerable individuals into crime, into

brutality,—and, what was still more lamentable,—into an adoption of their principles.

III.

Reception in England of the French persecuted Clergy.

THE decree of deportation in August 1792, the massacres of the 2d and 3d of the following September, the subsequent massacres, a subsequent decree of deportation, and finally, the French invasion of Holland, where large numbers of the lay-emigrants and deported priests had taken refuge, occasioned the arrivals of them, in large numbers, in England ; so that, in the end, I. The number of deported priests exceeded eight thousand ; II. And that of lay-emigrants, exceeded two thousand ; III. We may add to them, the foreign and English nuns who took refuge in this country.

At the respectable and afflicting spectacle, which so many sufferers for conscientious adherence to religious principle, presented, the English heart swelled with every honourable feeling. A general appeal to the public was resolved upon. The late Mr. John Wilmot, then member of parliament for the city of Coventry, took the lead in the work of beneficence. The plan of it was concerted by him, Mr. Edmund Burke, and Sir Philips Metcalfe. An address to the public was accordingly framed by Mr. Burke, and inserted in all the newspapers. It produced a subscription of 33,775*l.* 15*s.* 9½*d.* This ample sum,

for a time, supplied the wants of the sufferers. At length, however, it was exhausted; and in the following year, another subscription was set on foot. The venerable name of king George the third appeared first on this list. This subscription amounted to the sum of 41,304*l.* 12*s.* 6½*d.* But this, too, was exhausted.

The measure of private charity being thus exceeded, parliament interposed; and from December 1793, voted annually a sum for the relief of the ecclesiastic and lay emigrants. This appears, by an account which the writer received from Mr. Wilmot, to have reached, on the 7th day of June 1806, the sum of 1,864,825*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.* The management of these sums was left to a committee, of which Mr. Wilmot was the president; and the committee confided the distribution of the succours of the clergy, to the bishop of St. Pol de Leon. A general scale for the distribution of the succours was fixed: the bishops and the magistracy, received an allowance somewhat larger than others; but the largest allowance was small; and none was made to those, who had other means of subsistence. The munificence of parliament did not, however, suspend the continuance of private charity. Individual kindness and aid accompanied the emigrants to the last. Here, the writer begs leave to mention an instance of the splendid munificence of the late earl Rosslyn, then chancellor of England. It was mentioned at his lordship's table, that the chancellor of France

was distressed, by not being able to procure the discount of a bill, which he had brought from France. "The chancellor of England," said lord Rosslyn, "is the only person to whom the chancellor of France should apply to discount his bills." The money was immediately sent, and, while the seals remained in his hands, he annually sent a sum of equal amount to the chancellor of France.

III. 1. At Winchester, at Guilford, and in other places, public buildings were appropriated for the accommodation of *the clergy*. In the hurry in which they had been forced to fly, many of them had been obliged to leave behind them, their books of prayer. To supply, in part, this want, the university of Oxford printed for them, two thousand copies of the Vulgate version of the New Testament, from the edition of Barbou; and the late marquis of Buckingham printed an equal number of copies, of the same sacred work, at his own expense.

Every rank and description of persons, exerted itself for their relief. There is reason to suppose, that the money contributed for this honourable purpose, by individuals, whose donations never came before the public eye, was equal to the largest of the two subscriptions which have been mentioned. To the very last, Mr. John Wilnot continued his kind and minute attention to the noble work of humanity.—It adds incalculably to its merit, that it was not a sudden burst of beneficence: it was a cool, deliberate, and systematic exertion, which charity

dictated, organised, and continued for a long succession of years ; and which, in its last year, was as kind, as active, and as energetic, as in its first.

Among the individuals who made themselves most useful; one unquestionably holds the first place.

“ At the name, ” says the abbé Barruel, “ of Mrs.

“ Dorothy Silburn, every French priest raises his
“ hands to heaven, to implore its blessings on her.”

The bishop of St. Pol took his abode in her house ;

and it soon became the central point, to which every

Frenchman in distress found his way. It may easily

be conceived, that, great as were the sums appro-

priated for the relief of the French clergy, the num-

ber of those, who partook of them was so large, as to

make the allowance of each a scanty provision even

for bare subsistence ; so that all were obliged to

submit to great privations, and, from one circum-

stance or other, some were occasionally in actual

want. Here, Mrs. Silburn interfered. Where

more food, more raiment, more medicine, than the

succours afforded, was wanted, it was generally

procured by her, or her exertions. Work and la-

bour, she found for those, who sought them. The

soothing word, the kind action, never failed her.—

All the unpleasantness which distress unavoidably

creates, she bore with patience. Her incessant

exertions she never abated.—The scenes, thus de-

scribed by the writer, he himself witnessed ; and all

who beheld them, felt and remarked, that much of

the success, and the excellent management, which

attended the good work, was owing to her.—To use the expression of a French prelate, “the glory of the nation, on this occasion, was increased by the part which Mrs. Silburn acted in it.”—On the final closing of the account, his majesty was graciously pleased to shew his sentiments of her conduct by granting to her an annual pension of one hundred pounds for her life: never was a pension better merited.

On the other hand, the conduct of the objects of this bounty was most edifying. Thrown, on a sudden, into a foreign country, differing from theirs, in language, manners, habits, and religion, the uniform tenor of their decorous and pious lives obtained for them universal regard. Their attachment to their religious creed, they neither concealed, nor obtruded. It was evidently their first object to find opportunities of celebrating the sacred mysteries; and of reciting the offices of their liturgy. Most happy was he, who obtained the cure of a congregation; or who, like the abbé Caron, could establish some institution, useful to his countrymen. Who does not respect feelings, at once so respectable, and so religious? Hence flowed their cheerfulness and serenity of mind, above suffering and want. “I saw them,” a gentleman said to the writer of these pages, “hurrying, in the bitterest weather, over the ice of Holland, when the French invaded that territory. They had scarcely the means of subsistence; the wind blew, the snow fell; the army

“ was fast approaching, and they knew not where
“ to hide their heads, yet these men were cheer-
“ ful.” They did honour to religion ;—and the
nation, that so justly appreciated their merit, did
honour to itself.

III. 2. The lay-emigrants were chiefly composed of the provincial nobility. Their willing exertions to increase their small subsistence was truly honourable. With this view, magistrates became preceptors ; painting, drawing, and music, were taught by ladies, who, in happier hours, had learned them for ornament ; the son refused no occupation, which gave him the means of assisting his parent ; the daughter was the maid of all work to her family ; and it is surprising how soon they qualified themselves, in one form or other, for useful employments : none thought that a disgrace, which attachment to his king, or love of his religion, made necessary.

III. 3. Having mentioned the edifying conduct of the French deported clergy, and French emigrant laity, during this dreadful æra of the revolution, it remains to make a similar short mention of the conduct of the *emigrant nuns*.—The pious tenor of their conventual lives has been faithfully described, by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Fletcher, the roman-catholic pastor of Weston-Underwood, in Buckinghamshire, in the third of his learned, elegant, and instructive *Sermons on various religious and moral subjects*, 3 vol. 8vo. :—an extract from that sermon is inserted in the Appendix to this work.

When the hour of trial came, the conduct of these pious recluses was uniformly edifying.—On every occasion, they exhibited the greatest patience and fortitude, and an unconquerable adherence to principles.—The French philosophers had unceasingly predicted, that the doors of the convents would be no sooner opened, and their inmates legally emancipated from their vows, than they would rush to freedom, marriage, and dissipation.—Of this, there was *hardly* an instance; while the conduct of an *immense* majority invariably shewed how sincerely they despised both the blandishments and the terrors of the world, which they had quitted. Some of them braved persecution, and even death itself, in its most hideous form. On one occasion, the fatal cart conveyed the superior of a convent, and all her claustral family, to the guillotine.—In the road to it, they sung, in unison, the litanies of the Virgin Mary. At first, they were received with curses ribaldry, and the other usual abominations of a French mob. But it was not long, before their serene demeanor, and pious chaunt subdued the surrounding brutality; and the multitude attended them in respectful silence, to the place of execution. The cart moved slowly,—all the while, the nuns continued the pious strain: when the cart reached the guillotine, each, till the instrument of death touched her, sustained it. As each died, the sound became proportionally weaker. At last, the superior's single note was heard, and soon was heard

no more.—For once, the French mob was affected. In silence, and apparently, with some compunctious visitations, they returned to their homes.

Throughout their dispersion, the nuns retained undiminished their attachment to their religious rule. Whenever opportunity offered, they formed themselves into bands for its observance; and the insulated individual seldom failed to practise it, to the utmost of her power.—Sometimes by succession or heirship, or from some other circumstance, wealth came in their way, but their spare diet, seclusion from the world, and regular prayer continued; and, what was not necessary to supply their wants of the first necessity, was charitably distributed.

That this picture of their conduct is not exaggerated, all must acknowledge, who have seen the religious communities, to whom the incomparable munificence of this country has afforded an asylum. No one has seen them, without being edified by their virtues, at once amiable and heroic;—few, without acknowledging their happiness.—Their resignation to the persecution, which they so undeservedly suffered, their patience, their cheerfulness, their regular discharge of their religious observances, and, above all, their noble confidence in divine providence, have gained them the esteem of all, who have known them.—At a village near London, a small community of Carmelites lived, for several months, almost without the elements of fire, water, or air. The two first, (for water, unfortunately, was there a vendible

commodity), they could little afford to buy; and, from the last, (their dress confining them to their shed), they were excluded. In the midst of this severe distress, which no spectator could behold unmoved, they were happy.—Submission to the will of God, fortitude and cheerfulness, never deserted them. A few human tears would fall from them, when they thought of their convent; and, with gratitude, the finest of human feelings, they abounded. In other respects, they seemed of another world:—“Whatever withdraws us,” says Dr. Johnson, “from the power of our senses; whatever makes “the past, the distant, or the future, predominate “over the present, advances us in the dignity of “rational beings.” It would be difficult to point out any, to whom this observation can be better applied, than these venerable ladies,—any, who are more withdrawn from the power of the senses; over whose lives, the past, the distant, and the future, more predominate, or over whom the present has less influence.

CHAP. XIX.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

21st September 1792—26th October 1795.

WHEN the horrors of the 10th August 1792, were at their highest, Vergniaud ascended the tribune and

proposed, that “ a national convention should be assembled ;” and that, “ till the people of France should make known by it, their will, the king should be suspended from his functions.” On the 13th, the plan for summoning a national convention was settled. On the 21st of the following September, the convention was installed, and decreed the abolition of royalty, and the establishment of the republic.

The subject of the present pages leads the writer, I. To make a short mention of the death of the monarch ; II. Of the anti-christian measures of the national convention ; III. And, of the military successes of France.

I.

The Death of Lewis the sixteenth.

“ WHEN lord Clarendon,” (to copy a remark of Mr. Hume, in his Essay on Tragedy), “ approaches towards the catastrophe of the royal party, he supposes, that his narration must then become infinitely disagreeable ; and he hurries over the king’s death, without giving us one circumstance of it ; considering it as too horrid a scene to be contemplated with any satisfaction, or even without the utmost pain and aversion.—The readers of that age,” continues Mr. Hume, “ were too deeply concerned in the events, and felt a pain from subjects, which an historian and a reader of another age, would regard as the most pathetic

“ and the most interesting, and, by consequence,
“ the most agreeable.”

Something like the feeling, which Mr. Hume supposes to have produced lord Clarendon's silence, must influence every writer, whose subject leads him to mention the last days of Lewis the sixteenth. The works of *M. Hue*, and of *the faithful Cléry*, have made us acquainted with every interesting particular of this distressing event: and are in the hands of every one.

“ That Lewis possessed considerable talents,” says an able writer in the *Annual Register of 1793*,
“ and that he had cultivated them with success, cannot now be denied. His demeanor during his trial, and on the scaffold, and the paper he left behind him, as his will, have raised his character since his death, beyond the reach of his enemies, and given it a much higher estimation, than it possessed amidst the splendor of his early fortune. It must nevertheless be owned, though we know not how to impute it to him as a reproach, that nature had lavished on him, in benevolence, what she had withheld from him, in energy.—
“ The gentleness and amiable pliancy of his temper, which, accompanied with piety, enabled him to support the evils, that befell him, disqualified him in a great measure, for that power and promptitude of exertion, which would have prevented their approach. To use the emphatic words of M. de Malesherbes, he was as pious, as Lewis the

“ ninth, as just, as Lewis the twelfth, as humane,
“ as Henry the fourth, and his only fault was that
“ of conducting himself too much as the father of
“ his people, and not enough as their king.”

It is universally known, that, in his last will, he intimates his concern for having sanctioned the civil constitution of the clergy. To this he alludes, when he “ prays God to receive his profound sorrow, for having, (though contrary to his will), set
“ his name to acts, that might be contrary to the
“ discipline and belief of the roman-catholic church,
“ to which, (in his heart), he had ever been sincerely attached.”

II.

Antichristian measures in France.

At the opening of the legislative assembly, France was divided into two parties. The leaders of the one, were chiefly certain literary men of republican principles. As most of them came from the department of the Gironde, they received the appellation of Girondists ; and, from Brissôt, confessedly their leader, they were called Brissotins. Though avowed republicans, they were much more moderate than their adversaries, both in their views, and in their choice of means. They had endeavoured to save the life of the king ; but defeated their object by their tortuous conduct. The leaders of the adverse faction were Robespierre and Marat ; the former, a stern, unrelenting tyrant ; the latter, a brutal.

incendiary. The ferocity of the former was more systematic ; but the ferocity of both was equal. The conflicts of these parties are foreign to the subject of these pages.—At first, the Brissotins had the ascendancy in the legislative assembly. In a short time, Robespierre triumphed over them.—It was not long before France grew tired of his crimes ; and he fell a victim to public execration.

Each party sought equally to extirpate the christian religion. With this view; they promoted the decree of the assembly for substituting a new calendar, in the place of the present. This, it is well known, was promulgated by pope Gregory the thirteenth, from whom it received its name. With the assistance of the jesuit Clavius, he reformed the ancient calendar : and his reformation of it was generally admired. Tycho Brahè declared, that if it were not perfect, it was only because, from its constitution, a calendar is not susceptible of perfection. The calendar, thus reformed by pope Gregory, was successively received in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France. In 1700, it was received in most protestant states of Germany ; and was adopted in England, in 1751.

The new calendar of the French was divided into twelve months ; each of them consisting of thirty days, and distinguished by a name, expressive of its usual temperature, produce, or appearance. To complete the year, five supplementary days, called the *sans-culotides*, were introduced. In every fourth

year, an intercallary day was inserted : and the four years were to form an olympiad. The object of this machinery was to produce a division of each month into decades ; and to fix the day of rest on the tenth, not on the seventh ; in order that all memory of the sacred institutions, connected with the calendar, might gradually decay.

On the progress of these antichristian operations, it is too painful to dwell. It can give no pleasure to the reader to recall to his mind, the goddess of reason ; or the grand discovery of the convention, that “ death is eternal sleep.” The folly seems to have reached its height, on the 8th of June 1794, when a religious ceremony, expressive of the new opinions, was celebrated with great solemnity. The national convention assisted at it, in a body ; and it was attended by an immense concourse of the people. Its professed object was, to pronounce a solemn national acknowledgment of the existence of the Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul : Its real end was, to celebrate and confirm the triumph of pure deism over christianity.

It had been foreseen :—when the first stone of the magnificent church of St. Génévieve at Paris, (not yet completed), was laying, the following verses were circulated :

“ Templum augustum, ingens, reginâ assurgit in urbe ;

“ Urbe, et patronâ virgine, digna domus.

“ Tarda nimis pietas ! Vanos moliris honores !

“ Non sunt hæc cæptis tempora digna tuis.

“ Ante Deo in summâ quam templum erexeris urbe,

“ Impietas templis tollet et urbe Deum.

" Paris! sur ta montagne un saint temple s'élève;
 " Temple, digne de toi, digne de sainte G  n  vi  ve.
 " Tardive piet  ! d'un vain z  le saisi,
 " Paris! pour    projet quel temps as tu choisi!
 " Avant que pour ton Dieu,    monument s'ach  ve,
 " L'impi  t   chez toi, dominant en tout lieu,
 " Des temples, de tes murs aura chass   ton Dieu."

At this moment, Robespierre seemed to have attained the summit of his ambition. His catastrophe soon followed. During the whole period of his ascendancy in the convention, the reign of terror was complete; and the interior of France was one unvaried scene of fear and desolation. If a man were called to fix the period, in which there was most individual misery in any state of Europe, he would, without hesitation, fix on France during the three years of the national convention.

III.

Military Successes.

BUT, if we could abstract our minds from these horrors, there is a point of view in which during this dreadful period, and the first years of the directory, the French nation has a most imposing appearance. " No political assembly, recorded in " history," (say the writers of the *Annual Register for the year 1793*), " ever did much greater or " worse things, than the national convention. " As it consisted of men, chosen by a populous " nation, it partook of the dispositions that cha-

“ racterized the various partisans of the people of
“ France ; of the fire and impetuosity of temper,
“ that mark the inhabitants of the southern pro-
“ vinces, and the pertinacity and unyieldingness
“ of mind, that are usually found in those of the
“ northern parts. But that, which will eternize the
“ memory of this famous assembly, is the un-
“ daunted audacity with which it shook off those
“ ideas that, implanted by education, and confirmed
“ by the habit of years, remain so obstinately fixed
“ in the human mind. Monarchy and catholicism,
“ the two favourite objects of the French nation,
“ sanctioned by the attachment and veneration of
“ centuries, began to totter the very first moment
“ of their meeting, and were completely over-
“ thrown, as soon as they attempted to regain their
“ preponderance ; so entirely had these artful and
“ enterprising men obtained the confidence and
“ prepossession of the multitude. When they had
“ new moulded the public mind according to their
“ own form, they conceived the vast prospect of
“ extending the same influence over their neigh-
“ bours ; and they succeeded beyond their own
“ expectations, and even beyond the fears of their
“ enemies. They did, for the grandeur of France,
“ more than had been done in its most triumphant
“ periods, and more than had ever been done for
“ a country by its most victorious rulers. They
“ did those things, through means not heretofore
“ imagined. All was new and unprecedented in

“ their hands ; they created, as it were, the very
“ materials with which so many stupendous deeds
“ were performed : their statesmen, their generals,
“ their soldiers, were of their own formation.
“ When they began the execution of the vast plans
“ they had formed, they had the whole world to
“ encounter : all kings, all states, all nations, were
“ at once their declared, and, as they menaced
“ destruction to every establishment but their
“ own, their necessary enemies. What rendered
“ their actions peculiarly striking and marvellous,
“ the actors, in those astonishing scenes, were
“ men wholly unknown to their own country, be-
“ fore they assumed the reins of government : they
“ were not conspicuous either by birth, station or
“ riches : their consequence was innate, and called
“ forth by a singularity of events, without which
“ it must have remained in that obscurity, which
“ is the attendant of all those talents, however
“ great, that are not brought forth by great occa-
“ sions. No assembly ever displayed a more as-
“ tonishing mixture of shining qualities, and of
“ atrocious vices. Ambitious, cruel, unprincipled,
“ are epithets inadequate to convey an apposite idea
“ of their enormities. They were true to their
“ character from the very beginning ; overturning
“ without scruple or remorse, whatever stood in
“ their way, and compassing their ends, without
“ ever adverting to the rectitude or moral impro-
“ priety, or turpitude of the means employed.

“ The only qualifications, on which they seemed
 “ to set a substantial value, were courage and ca-
 “ pacity, boldness and expedition. These, divested
 “ of all virtuous or sentimental feelings, appear to
 “ have been the real attributes of those extraordi-
 “ nary, but not respectable names, that continued
 “ for three years to keep all Europe in unceasing
 “ alarms; that made kings tremble on their
 “ thrones; that progressively overcame all their
 “ enemies; that changed the face of all christen-
 “ dom in some of the most essential respects; that
 “ introduced *systems, which, if through the hand*
 “ *of power they may be repressed, will never be*
 “ *eradicated: that founded in short, an epoch,*
 “ *from which may be dated events, that are only*
 “ *beginning to unfold themselves, and the ultimate*
 “ *issue of which, it is not within the compass of*
 “ *the profoundest politics to ascertain; but which*
 “ *will probably, if not certainly, be felt in the*
 “ *remotest ages to come.*”

CHAP. XX.

THE DIRECTORY,

26th October 1796—10th October 1799.

THE total want of a regular form of government had long been severely felt throughout the kingdom: and immediately after the fall of Robespierre,

all parties openly professed a wish for such a settlement of the constitution, as should be organised on principles agreeable to the general body of the nation, and acknowledged by all.

Towards the close of the month of April 1795, the convention nominated eleven members for the execution of this important task. These were indefatigable in framing the new constitution: and on the 23d of the following June, they formally laid it before the convention. By the terms of it, the legislature was to be composed of two councils, or chambers, one to consist of ancients, the other of juniors; the first, to consist of two hundred and fifty members; the second, of five hundred. One-third of the members of each council was to be renewed every year. They might once be re-elected immediately; but not again, till after an interval of two years. The council of five hundred had the exclusive right of proposing the laws; and the council of ancients the same right of accepting, or refusing them. Freedom of religious opinion, and worship, was professedly established.

The executive power was delegated to five persons, nominated by the legislature. They were styled, collectively, the Directory. One of the directors was to go out of office yearly; and to be replaced by another: but none was to be re-elected till after an interval of five years. The business of the directory was to provide for the security of the republic, at home, and abroad; to dispose of the

military and naval forces; to superintend the execution of the laws; and direct the coining of money. No treaty framed by them was to be valid, until ratified by the legislature; no war to be undertaken, without its consent. To elect the directory, the council of five hundred was to make out five lists of ten persons; and out of each list, the council of ancients was to chuse one.

That the plan of this constitution was objectionable in several instances, was generally admitted. But some, who seriously weighed its merits and defects, thought it contained many requisites to give it strength and duration. After numerous and violent discussions, it was adopted; and, on the 26th of October, the national convention dissolved itself. The new assembly immediately met; Rewbell, Latourneur de la Manche, Barras, the abbé Sieyes, and la Révelliers Lepaux, were chosen directors, and installed with great pomp. Guards and all the other magnificence of royalty were annexed to them, in a style of grandeur, equal to that which had surrounded the Bourbon monarchs in their greatest splendor. The abbé Sieyes soon resigned his dignity, and Carnot was elected in his place.

The establishment of the new constitution raised, at first, some hope of a pacific settlement of the concerns of religion. Soon as terror ceased to be the order of the day, the convention began to shew some regard to their professed principles of religious

toleration; and, on the 21st day of February 1795, and the 30th of the following month of May, passed decrees favourable to the free exercise of the roman-catholic religion. The latter decree required from the priests, previously to their publicly exercising their functions, a simple promise of "fidelity to the constitution." A great number of the clergy made this promise; and, speaking generally, all the priests were released from the prisons, in which they had been confined, and permitted to return to their dioceses. Numbers, who had been banished, returned to France; and several bishops were restored to their sees. But this new order of things was of short duration; the decree of the 28th of the following month of September undid, almost entirely, all the effects of the former beneficent regulations:—and, from that time, the directory, far from acting in conformity to their avowed principles of religious freedom, shewed a marked hostility to the christian religion, to its ministers, and generally to all by whom it was professed.

A contest between the pope and the directory began, by the directory's seizing the Comptât Venaissin, and the Comptât d'Avignon, in the name of the French nation. The former, was granted to pope Gregory the tenth, in 1272, by Philip le Hardi, king of France: the latter, was purchased by pope Clement the sixth, from Jane of Provence, in 1548, and, from a fief, was converted into allodial property, by the emperor Charles the fourth. From

the time of their acquisition, both Comptâts continued portions of the papal territory. No government in Europe was more mild, no people more happy. A few of the most disresponsible inhabitants of each presented themselves at the bar of the national assembly, and petitioned, in the name of the whole people, to be annexed to France. Their petition was granted; the consequence was, that the established government was overthrown, and long years of blood and anarchy succeeded.

War between the pope and directory soon followed the usurpation of these territories. It was suspended by an armistice, concluded, in 1796, between the Pope and Buonaparte, then in all the blaze of his ascending glory. But the republic, (for France was then republican), refused to ratify the treaty, unless the pope ratified the civil constitution of the clergy. A threatening letter, with this intimation, was sent to the pope by Buonaparte; the pope, by his secretary cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Ferrara, replied to it with dignity. "Death," said his holiness, "with which you wish to threaten us, is the commencement of the eternal happiness of good men; it is the end of the prosperity of the wicked, and the beginning of their punishments, unless, in this life, their punishment has not had its beginning, in their remorse."

The contest was terminated on the 19th of February 1797, by the treaty of Tolentino. The

pope obliged himself by it, to pay to the republic, thirty-five millions of French money, to supply the French with one thousand six hundred horses, completely equipped; to give up to them, the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, and to maintain a French garrison in Ancona. On the part of the pope, the treaty was rigidly carried into execution.

Nothing can shew, in a stronger light, the grinding oppression, to which every country, who yielded to the arms of the French, was obliged to submit, than the account given by M. Bourgoing, in his *Memoires historiques et politiques sur Pie VI.* vol. II. p. 376, of the consequences of this treaty.

“ By the loss of its legations of Bologna and Ferrara, the pope,” says this writer, “ had been deprived of his two richest provinces,—a contribution of thirty-five millions was then required, to be raised from his remaining territory. The contribution was paid partly in specie, partly in diamonds. These, the directory first received on account; they afterwards, professed to find that the diamonds were of no value; and then, but without restoring the diamonds, required the amount, at which they had been estimated, to be paid in specie.—Add to this, the forced requisitions of raw and wrought materials, the produce of pillages, the plunder of the churches, the taxes imposed on obnoxious individuals, &c. &c. &c.—it will be no exaggeration, to assert, that the whole did not amount to a less sum than two

“ hundred millions of French money, or eight millions of English pounds.” If such were the effects of the exactions of the French from a country, which they professed to visit in mercy, what must have been their effects on a country which they visited in their wrath, and into which they sought to strike terror by desolation and barbarity?

The treaty of Tolentino was no sooner fulfilled by the pope, than violated by the French. On the 15th of the following February, the pope was officially informed, that “ the Roman people had resumed their rights,” that “ the pontifical government was at an end ;” and that “ the Italian republic was formed and proclaimed.” — The grossest indignities were offered to him, and he was successively removed to Sienna, to Florence, to Genoa, to Briançon, and Valence in Dauphinée. The injustice and continued barbarity of the French in their conduct to him, no one can read without abhorrence and disgust : his mild and dignified resignation, under his long and severe trials, is universally admired.—At Valence, he expired on the 29th day of August 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age ; having filled the chair of St. Peter twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days. The conclave for the election of his successor met at Venice, on the 1st of December ; and on the 14th of the following month of March, cardinal Chiaromonti, who now fills the sacred chair, was elected pope, and took the name of Pius the seventh.

CHAP. XXI.

THE CONSULATE.

November 1799—May 1804.

BY this time, the Directory had become a subject of general odium.—The history of its decline and fall is foreign to the subject of these pages ; it is sufficient, I. To state, in a few words, the nature of the powers conferred on the Consuls ; II. And to give a succinct view of the transactions between pope Pius the seventh and Buonaparte.

I.

Nature of the power conferred on the Consuls.

EARLY in November 1809, Buonaparte, just returned from Egypt, overturned the directory, and established, at the point of the bayonet, a provisional government.—An executive consular commission, composed of the abbé Sieyes, and Roger Ducos, both members of the abrogated directory, and of Buonaparte, was established. They were to be styled Consuls of the French Republic, and invested with the full powers of the directory, and particularly, with absolute authority to organise all the parts of the administration. As Buonaparte united in himself the double character of commander in chief and consul, he naturally took the lead; and accustomed the nation to receive proclamations in his sole name. In a short time, the new constitution was formed.

It bears date the 13th day of December 1800. It consisted principally of three consuls, (or rather of one consul and two assessors ; as these had votes only in matters of secondary importance) ;—Of a conservative senate ; and a legislative body ; divided into two parts, tribunes and senators ;—the tribunes to reason, or plead, on every proposition, but not to vote ; the senators, to vote and decide, but not to argue, or even to declare the grounds, on which they gave their opinions. The chief consul was to propose laws, and make regulations for carrying them into execution ; to appoint the new councillors of state, ministers, ambassadors, and agents ; all officers of the army, and navy ; the judges, members of local administrations, and commissioners of the government to different courts.—He was to hold this office during ten years, and at the expiration of this term, might be re-appointed. Thus, under the softer name of chief consul, Buonaparte drew the sovereign power to himself. *Nomine consulis*, (Tacitus says, *imperatoris*), *principatum obtinuit*. Both the abbé Sieyes and Ducos retired from the consulate to the conservative senate. They were succeeded by Cambacères and le Brun. The celebrated Talleyrand was appointed minister of foreign relations.

The oath prescribed to functionaries, and ecclesiastics, was expressed in the following words, “ I promise fidelity to the constitution.” No other declaration was required from them. The lawfulness of taking this oath became a subject of great discus-

sion among the clergy. Those, who wish to see the grounds, on which it was opposed and defended, will find them in the *Rapport général des contestations relatives a la Promesse de Fidélité a la Constitution*; and *Lettre de M. L'Evêque de Troyes a M. Charles Butler, relative a la pretendue opinion unanime de la Congregation des Cardinaux, sur la Promesse de Fidélité a la Constitution*, 8vo. printed for Le Clere, at Paris.

At a subsequent period, the dignity of chief consul was conferred on Buonaparte, for the term of his life.

II.

Transactions between Pope Pius the seventh and Buonaparte, during the Consulate.

THE least exceptionable, (perhaps, the writer may be permitted to say, the most glorious), period of the eventful history of Buonaparte, is that, which intervened between his election to the consulate, and his rupture with the pope. During the whole of this period, France enjoyed internal tranquillity. The splendor of her military successes, the increase of her power, and the aggrandizement of her territory, elevated the French in their own feelings; and either made them forget the horrors, through which they had passed; or, by recalling them to their remembrance, made them more sensible of their actual enjoyments.

The permission given by the government to the emigrants to return to France ; and the restorations to them of such parts of their property as had not been alienated, may be justly considered as acts both of legislative wisdom, and of legislative beneficence. The five codes of law, compiled under the eye of Buonaparte, though in some respects justly objectionable, will always be honourable to his memory. He himself thought so highly of them, as to express to a friend of the writer, a wish, that he might go down to posterity with these in his hands. It is greatly to be desired, that some one properly qualified for the task, would favour the public with a comparative view of their leading principles, and those of the laws of England. Unfortunately, such a work can only be expected from a person who is at once thoroughly conversant with the practice, the principles, and the theory of the jurisprudence of both countries. The *Discussions sur le code civil*, shew the manner in which that code was compiled. In these, Buonaparte appears to great advantage. . The magistrates who assisted at them, were unquestionably possessed of great talents : but Buonaparte frequently enters the lists with them, generally shews himself their equal ; at times, their superior ; and uniformly takes the liberal side. It adds to his honour, that, between him and his assessors, no distinction of rank is ever discernible. Pliny could not act at greater ease, or speak with more

freedom, before Trajan, than Buonaparte's assessors acted and spoke before him.

The attention which Buonaparte shewed to agriculture, is also entitled to the highest praise. He is thought, however, to have too much undervalued the importance of external commerce. The soldier and the agriculturer, were certainly intended to be the favoured classes of the community; but, what is reported of him, that he intended to discourage external commerce altogether, is scarcely credible. The classical student will always resent the preference which he gave to the exact sciences, over classical lore; but that, in his patronage of painting and sculpture, in his embellishment of the capital, and in other works of public magnificence, he shewed taste and discernment, seems to be generally admitted. His offences against religion can neither be denied or palliated; but, if we compare the state in which he left, with the state in which he found religion in France, the comparison will be greatly in his favour.

On the 15th of July 1801, the concordat between the Pope and Buonaparte was signed. The negotiators of it were, on the part of the pope, cardinal Consalvi, monsignor Spina, archbishop of Corinth, and father Caselle; on the part of the chief consul, Joseph Buonaparte, his brother; Cretet, councillor of state, and Bernier, curé of St. Land d'Angers. On the 15th of the following August, the concordat

was ratified at Rome by the pope. His holiness announced it by his bull, *Ecclesia Dei*, dated on the same day. He wisely withheld, for some time, the publication of it: but, on the day on which he signed it, he addressed a letter to the bishops of France, by which he intimated to them, that “the conservation of unity, and the re-establishment of the catholic church, in France, required from them, the great sacrifice of a resignation of their sees.” He demanded their answer in ten days from the receipt of his letter. The answer was to be absolute, not dilatory; and he signified to them, that if, within that term, he did not receive such an answer as he required, he should consider them to have refused their resignations. He wrote, to the same effect, to those prelates, whose sees, in consequence of the conquests of France, had been recently annexed to her dominions. He charged M. Spina to exhort the constitutional clergy, to return to the unity of the church; to submit themselves to the judgments of the holy see, on the ecclesiastical concerns of France, and to renounce the sees into which they were intruded. All the constitutional bishops resigned their sees into the hands of the government; some of them made the submissions he required: others are said to have given in their submissions to the pope, when he arrived in France, to assist at the coronation of Buonaparte.

On the 4th of October, cardinal Caprara arrived

at Paris, in quality of *legate a latere* from the pope. To arrange matters finally with him, Buonaparte established, under the title of *ministre des cultes*, a minister of state, for the religious concerns of France; and conferred this office on M. Portalis, a councillor of state, who, on several occasions, had prevented the vexatious proceedings of the national convention, and for that, and other reasons, was particularly agreeable to the French clergy.

Of eighty-one bishops, who then composed the legitimate prelacy of France, forty-five acceded to the pope's requisition, and gave in their demissions. The remaining thirty-six withheld them. Eighteen French prelates were, at this time, in England. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, and twelve others of them, addressed a joint letter to the pope, declining to send their demissions: and a similar letter was addressed to his holiness, by the cardinal de Montmorency, and five other bishops. This letter was composed by M. Asseline, the bishop of Boulogne, the most learned of the French bishops: it expressed at length their objection to the pope's requisition. Twenty-four other bishops adhered to it. It was universally admired, and confessedly contains an able defence of the conduct of the prelates, who refused their resignations. The pope's requisitions found an able support in abbé Barruel's learned treatise, *Du Pape et de ses droits religieux en France*, 2 vol. 8vo.

On the 5th day of the following April, Portalis, by the direction of the emperor, laid the concordat before the new legislative body, and introduced it by a discourse of a conciliatory nature, but which was thought to contain some objectionable passages. It is powerfully attacked by M. Tabaraud, in his excellent treatise, *De l'importance d'une religion de l'état*. Paris, 1814, 8vo.

Together with the concordat, Portalis laid before the assembly some regulations for the organization of the Gallican church, which, from their object, were called *Articles Organiques*. These never had the pope's consent. In his *Allocution to the cardinals, on the 24th of the following May*, the pope declares, that they were never communicated to him, and that he had demanded a *modification of them, as being contrary to the discipline of the church*. Whether the cardinal legate assented to them, or not, the writer of these pages has not satisfactorily discovered. What was thought of them in Italy, may be seen from the *Esame degli Articoli organici, publicati colle stampe di Parigi, unitamente alla Convenzione, Roma, 1802*.

In the form, which we have mentioned, the concordat and articles organiques passed the assembly, and became a law of the state. On the 18th of April, a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in the metropolitan church of Paris, to celebrate the re-establishment of the public exercise of the roman-catholic religion.

By the terms of the concordat, the catholic was to be acknowledged the religion of the great majority of the French citizens: a new division of the French dioceses was to be made by the holy see, in concert with the government; all the bishops, both ancient and constitutional, were to resign, or be considered destituted of their sees; and their sees, thus becoming universally vacant, were to be filled by persons presented to them by the first consul, and confirmed by the pope. The parish livings were to be appointed by the bishops, and conferred on persons approved by the government. All the ministers of the church were to be salaried by government; and the pope promised, that neither he, or his successors, would disturb, in any manner, those, who had acquired the alienated property of the church. The bishops, before they entered on their functions, were to swear obedience and fidelity to the government established by the French republic. A similar oath was to be taken by the clergy of the second order, before they entered on the exercise of their functions..

In the nomination of the bishops, Buonaparte was far from consulting the wishes of the pope. He appointed constitutional bishops to twelve of the sees. "Some of the constitutionalists," says M. Picot, (*Memoires pour servir a l'histoire ecclesiastique du 18 siecle*, vol. III. p. 421), "were actually reconciled to the holy see; but the greater part of them persisted in their resistance

“ to the judgments, which had condemned them.” The account, given by the same author, of this important part of the ecclesiastical history of the French revolution, is very interesting. He weighs, with great impartiality, the good and evil consequences of the concordat ; and shews, that, on the whole, the interests of religion gained by it considerably.

In the following April, the ancient French prelates of France, who had not given in the resignation of their sees, published their “ *Reclamations canoniques et dogmatiques*,” addressed to the pope. They protested in them, against the concordat ; against the several bulls, by which it was enforced ; and against the articles organiques. This celebrated document was composed by the bishop of Boulogne, and signed by thirty-eight bishops. It is expressed in strong, but respectful, language.

In the month of April, in the year 1804, the same prelates published their *Reclamations in favour of the rights of Lewis the eighteenth*. They declare by them, that “ the king retained all his rights ;” that “ he held them from God ;” and “ that nothing could absolve his subjects from their oaths of allegiance.” They complain of the articles of the concordat, which permitted persons to take a new oath to the actual government of France ; and to acknowledge that the new government was invested with all the rights of the former.

These honourable monuments of their unshaken

loyalty and attachment to the rights and liberties of the ancient Gallican church, were respected even by those, who thought that the imperious necessity of the times made the submission of the prelates to the distressing sacrifice required from them, however painful, an act of duty. "One may venture," says the estimable M. Emery, in his interesting *Corrections et Additions pour les Nouveaux Opuscules de M. l'abbé Fleury*, p. 7, "to assert, that
 " among the popes, who have carried furthest their
 " authority, and among all the popes, generally,
 " not one, in the whole course of ages and changes,
 " has ventured on blows of authority so great or
 " so important as those dealt, by Pius the seventh,
 " in one moment." M. Emery declares unequivocally, that, in his opinion, they were legitimate exertions of papal authority, on the ground, (p. 5,) that, "when the conservation of the church, or a
 " great portion of the church, is concerned, the
 " pope is above the canons."

The same view of this remarkable event is given by the writer of these pages in his *History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the German Empire*, 2 edit. App. p. 13*. "The ecclesiastical division of France, by the Pope and
 " Buonaparte, has not been acquiesced in by some
 " of the Gallican prelates: they appear much perplexed between allegiance to the Bourbons and
 " duty to the pope. In defence of their conduct,
 " they invoke the canons of the church, which, in

* See Vol. II.

“ the strongest and most explicit terms, declare it
 “ unlawful to impose a new bishop on the see of
 “ any bishop who is alive, and has not resigned,
 “ or been canonically deposed from his see. Their
 “ appeal to the canons must be decided in their
 “ favour, if the case should be tried by the or-
 “ dinary rules of the ecclesiastical polity of the
 “ roman-catholic church. But, at the time of which
 “ we speak, no sentence founded on those rules
 “ could be carried into execution. Such was the
 “ extraordinary state of things, that nothing short
 “ of the *dominium altum*, or the right of pro-
 “ viding for extraordinary cases by extraordinary
 “ acts of authority, could be exerted with effect:
 “ and this *dominium altum*, in the spiritual con-
 “ cerns of the church, the venerable prelates can-
 “ not, consistently with their own principles, deny
 “ to the successor of St. Peter.”

CHAP. XXII.

EVENTS IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF
 FRANCE, FROM THE TIME OF NAPOLEON'S BEING
 DECLARED EMPEROR; TILL THE RESTORATION
 OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BOURBONS.

May 1804—April 1814.

THE principal events in the ecclesiastical history
 of France, which took place during this period, are,
 I. The coronation of Napoleon; II. The dissolution

of his marriage ; III. The sanhedrin of the Jews at Paris ; IV. The rupture of Napoleon with the pope ; V. The first ecclesiastical commission appointed by Napoleon ; VI. The second ecclesiastical commission appointed by him ; VII. The deputation of bishops from him to the pope ; VIII. The council assembled by Napoleon at Paris ; IX. His arrangement with the pope, and the pope's subsequent retractation of this arrangement.

I.

The Coronation of Napoleon.

IT is needless to inform the reader, that the organic senatus-consultum of the 18th of May 1804, conferred the title of emperor on the first consul, and made the imperial dignity hereditary in his family ; that the ceremony of his coronation took place at Paris, on the 19th of the following November, in the church of Notre-Dame ; that the pope performed a solemn service, blessed the crown, the sceptre, the sword, the mantle, and other imperial ornaments, with which the emperor and empress were arrayed ; and anointed the emperor with the sacred unction. He was invested with the other imperial ornaments by the chief dignitaries of state. But, himself placed the crown upon his own head, and her crown, on the head of Josephine. Both the emperor and empress were then, solemnly blessed by the pope. A detailed account of this solemnity, and of the festivities, with which it was followed, is contained in

the *Histoire du Couronnement : ou Relation des Ceremonies religieuses, politiques, et militaires, qui ont eues lieu pendant les jours memorables, consacrés a celebrer le Couronnement, et le sacre de sa Majesté imperiale, Napoleon, premier Empereur de Français*, 8vo. 1805. But, it has been mentioned to the writer of these pages, that, in this work, the pope is described to have been more active, than he really was, in the ceremonies of the coronation.

II.

The Dissolution of the Marriage between the emperor Napoleon, and the empress Josephine.

THE subject of these pages now leads us to mention succinctly, 1st, The ancestry of Napoleon; 2dly, His birth; 3dly, His marriage, in the form prescribed by the state; 4thly, Its subsequent solemnization, according to the rites of the roman-catholic church; 5thly, His divorce; and 6thly, His marriage with Maria-Louisa, the archduchess of Austria.

II. 1. Among those, who fought under general Paoli, was a young, and brave Corsican, called Charles Buonaparte. He was born, in 1745, at Ajaccio, in Corsica; was destined originally for the profession of the law; quitted it for the profession of arms, and attracted, both by his skill and valour, the regard of his general. He had a brother, a canon in Corsica. By him, after the defeat of Paoli, he was

persuaded to remain in Corsica. He was particularly favoured by the French, and much considered by the count of Marbœuf, the governor-general of the island. He married Letitia Ramolini. That he was of noble extraction in Corsica, admits of no doubt. In 1776, a deputation from the three orders of Corsica, having been sent to the king of France, Charles Buonaparte was chosen to represent the order of the nobility. The entry of his death, in the public register of the parish church of St. Denys, in Montpellier, is thus expressed : “ Charles de Buonaparte, ancient deputy of the nobility of Corsica to the court ; assessor of the royal justiza of Ajaccio ; husband of the lady Letitia Ramolini, died, aged about thirty-nine years, on the 24th of February 1785, in the parish of St. Denys, at Montpellier ; and is buried in one of the vaults of the reverend fathers, the cordelier friars, in this town.”

He left issue five sons, and three daughters, Joseph, Napoleon, Lucien, Jerome, Lewis, Marianna, Carletta, and Annonciada. On the 16th of August 1785, Lucien Buonaparte, their paternal uncle, was appointed guardian to them, by the superior council of Ajaccio.

Little is known of the family of madame Buonaparte, the mother of Napoleon. Previously to her marriage, with Charles Buonaparte, she was married to M. Fesch, of a respectable mercantile family at Basle, in Switzerland. Cardinal Fesch was the offspring of this marriage.

II. 2. Napoleon, (in the Italian documents always called Napolion), was born on the 5th of February 1768 : but, after his elevation to the empire, he assigned the 15th of August 1769, for the day of his birth. As Corsica became subject to France, in June 1769, he sought, by this postponement of his birth-day, to be considered a Frenchman born. About the time of his first military successes, he omitted the *u* in the first syllable of his surname : and changed the christian names of his three sisters, to Caroline, Eliza and Pauline.

Lewis the thirteenth having placed his kingdom under the protection of Mary, the mother of God ; and her assumption, the principal of her feasts, in the roman-catholic church, being celebrated on the 15th of August, in every part of France, with great solemnity, Napoleon probably chose that, for the day of his birth, in hopes, that in time, the solemnities of the day might be supposed to be celebrated in his honour.

II. 3. In 1796, Buonaparte married the celebrated Josephine. She was the daughter of M. Tascher de la Pagerie, a respectable planter at Martinico ; and married, to her first husband, Alexander Beauharnois, a respectable French gentleman. Eugene Beauharnois was the only child of this marriage. Alexander perished by the guillotine. The marriage of Josephine with Buonaparte, is entered in the registers of the acts of marriage, of the fourth year of the republic, in the *deuxieme arrondissement*.

ments de Paris. It is given at length in the *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire de France, sous le Gouvernement de Napoleon Buonaparte, et pendant l'absence de la Maison de Bourbon*, 1814, p. 66.—

All the particulars, which the writer of these pages has mentioned of Napoleon's family, are taken from that publication. It is a work of talent and candour: but, *sit fides penes auctorem.*—The best account of Napoleon's early years, which has fallen into the hands of the present writer, is given in some of the first numbers of the *American Quarterly Review*.—

It is highly to the praise of the empress Josephine, that, by the universal testimony of all, who approached her, she shewed, in every vicissitude of fortune, a kind, an humble, and a beneficent disposition.

II. 4. The marriage, which we have mentioned, was performed in the manner prescribed by the law of the French republic, by Charles-Theodore-Francois Le Clerc, a public officer in the municipality, in which it took place.—The pope made it a condition of his assisting at the ceremony of Napoleon's coronation, that the marriage should be solemnized, according to the rites of the catholic church. It was accordingly celebrated by cardinal Fesch, in a private chapel, in the presence of M. Cambaceres, and M. Berthier.

II. 5. When Napoleon had resolved on the divorce, a difficulty arose from the decree of the 30th of March 1806, which “prohibited divorce to all
“the members of the imperial house, of each sex,

“ and every age.”—But, paying no regard to this decree, Napoleon, before an assembly of his family, and in the presence of the arch-chancellor, and a deputation from the senate, announced his project : “ The policy,” he said, “ of the monarchy, the interest and want of my people, require that I shall leave behind me, children, who shall be the heirs of my love for my people. Yet, for many years, I have lost hopes of having children by my well-beloved wife, the empress Josephine. It is this, which makes me *will* the dissolution of my marriage.”—Josephine expressed herself, nearly, in the same terms. The arch-chancellor having reported these acts to the senate, the marriage was, on the 16th of December 1809, declared to be dissolved. To give to the divorce, something resembling an ecclesiastical sanction, Napoleon induced the officiality of Paris to pronounce a sentence of divorce.

II. 6. His marriage with Maria-Louisa, the archduchess of Austria, was celebrated at Vienna, on the 11th of March 1810. It was solemnized according to the rites of the roman-catholic church ; and also in the form prescribed by the law of France.—The majority of the cardinals refused to assist at the former ; most assisted at the latter ceremony.—On this subject the reader will peruse with pleasure, M. Tabaraud’s interesting treatise *Du Divorce de Napoleon Buonaparte, avec Josephine veuve Beauharnois, et de son mariage avec Marie-Louise, Archeduchesse d’Autriche*, 8vo.

III.

The Sanhedrin of the Jews at Paris.

ON the 20th of October 1806, a grand Sanhedrin of Jews was held at Paris: no account of it, on which any reliance can be placed, has come to the hands of the writer. He finds, on inquiry, that the Jews of London sent to it no deputy from their body; that no Jew of English extraction, or domiciliated in England, is supposed to have attended it; and that all Jews out of France consider that it betrayed the Hebrew cause.

It is time that the prejudice against the Jews should cease. Christians complain of the persecutions which they have suffered from pagans; and every denomination of christians complains of its persecutions, from other christians. But christians should also recollect that none of these persecutions can, for their horrors, their duration, or their extent, be put into competition with the persecutions which christians have inflicted on the Jews;—on Jews, almost always innocent and inoffensive. Those, who doubt this assertion, should read Basnage's *History of the Jews*, or the excellent abridgement of it in the *Universal History*. Much that is truly amiable and respectable enter into the Jewish character. No religious denomination of men carries further the love of their brethren in faith, reverence for their parents, or affection

towards their offspring. One of their greatest anxieties is, that they may not die without receiving in person the blessing of their dying parent ; or giving, on their own last bed, their blessing to their children. During the eleven months which follow the decease of the parent, the child daily recites for him the prayer *Kadisch* ; and celebrates the anniversary of his death by a fast. The Jews are eminently grateful to their instructors, and remarkably respectful to old age. Some of their practices are minute, but founded in humanity. The humane spirit of many precepts in the Mosaic code has been much admired. The same spirit of humanity prevails among the modern Jews. To spare to the nursing hen, the distress of seeing the duckling run to the water, the Jews are forbidden to permit the eggs of the duck to be covered by a hen. The rabbies are particularly enjoined to visit the shops of butchers, and to ascertain that they use no unnecessary cruelty in putting animals to death. Learning, even christian learning, has lately found its way among them. Some of Massillon's sermons are said to have been translated into rabbinical Hebrew.

IV.

The Rupture of Napoleon with the Pope.

It was soon discovered that Napoleon had no regard for his recent arrangements with the Pope.

Early in the year 1808, he seized, contrary to the express stipulations in the treaty of Tolentino, on the territory of Ancona. He then required of the Pope, that he should enter into the confederation of the Rhine, join him in a general offensive and defensive alliance, and immediately take an active part against England. The pope resisted these demands, and in consequence of it, the French troops, on the 2d of February 1808, took possession of Rome. It is needless to mention the vexations of the unhappy people, or the insults and indignities of the pontiff, which followed. Finally, on the 17th of May 1809, Napoleon published a decree, annexing the Roman states to the empire of France. He observed in his decree, that “ Charlemagne, his august predecessor, had granted those states to the pope, and his successors, as a fief, reserving the supreme dominion of them to himself and to his successors on the French throne. His grant had thus annexed temporal power, though subordinate to his own paramount superiority, to the pope’s spiritual authority: this union had proved a source of unceasing discord. To put an end to it, Napoleon, as the representative of his august predecessor, resumed the temporal power which had been thus conferred on the pope, but obliged himself, and his successors, in the empire of France, to pay to the pope and his successors

“ in St. Peter’s chair, an annual sum of two
“ millions of French livres,” or 800,000 English
pounds.

On the 10th of June the pope published a solemn protest against these proceedings, rejected the proffered provision, and published a bull, by which he excommunicated the authors, promoters, and abettors of the violences exercised against the holy see, but abstained from mentioning Napoleon, by name. On the night of the 6th of the following July, the French troops entered the palace, seized the person of the pope, forced his holiness into a carriage, in which they locked him, and conducted him through Florence, Alessandria, Montcenis, Montmelian, Grenoble, (where he rested eleven days), Valençe, Avignon, Aix, and Nice, to Savona, in Dauphiné. He reached that city on the 10th of August; was lodged at the prefecture, and placed in a state of severe confinement. Sometimes, by apparent kindness, at others, by rigour, Napoleon endeavoured to render the pontiff subservient to his views. But, in the midst of privation and indignity, and without aid or advice, the vicar of Christ was superior to the arts and cruelty of his persecutor; maintained inviolate, the integrity of the deposit entrusted to him, and preserved his own sacred character and dignity undiminished. It is difficult to find in sacred or profane history an instance either of an ecclesiastical

or a secular personage, who, in circumstances so trying, comported himself with more dignity or wisdom. What a contrast, in their hours of adversity, between the pontiff, and his oppressor!

V.

*First ecclesiastical Commission appointed by the
Emperor.*

FOILED by the pope, Napoleon assailed the clergy.—The pope had refused to give institution to several ecclesiastics appointed by Napoleon, to the vacant sees: Napoleon sought to compel the pope to grant it; and beyond this, had two objects of greater importance in view;—the first, an arrangement for filling the sees, if, on any future occasion, the popes should refuse institution to the persons presented to them;—the second, such an alteration in the college of cardinals, as should render it permanently subservient to the views of the French government.—To accomplish these aims, Napoleon established a commission, “for discovering means to provide for “the wants of the churches.” The commissioners appointed, were cardinal Maury, cardinal Fesch, the archbishop of Tours, the bishops of Vercelli, Treves, and Nantes; father Fontana, the general of the Barnabites, and the abbé Emery, the superior-general of the seminary of St. Sulpice, a person renowned for his probity, piety, learning, and attachment to the holy see.—This respectable clergy-

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man attended the meetings of the commission very assiduously ; “ and spoke,” says M. Picot, (*Mem. vol. III. p. 524*), “ as became an accurate theologian, “ and a courageous friend of papal authority*.”

By the direction of Napoleon, three distinct series of questions were proposed to the members of the commission. The first, respected the government of the church in general ; the second, the concordat ; the third, related to the churches of Germany and Italy ; and the bull, excommunicating Napoleon. The letter for the convocation of the commission, is dated on the 16th of November 1809. The answer of the commission was delivered to Napoleon, on the 11th of the following January. It is expressed in guarded terms ; and contains much profound and interesting matter. It is easy to perceive in it, the anxiety of the prelates to say nothing, that should be thought contrary to the principles of the church, or that might irritate Napoleon. But they explicitly declare, that “ the bull “ of excommunication ought to be regarded as null “ and of no effect.”

While the commission was sitting, the cardinals Maury and Caprara, and the bishop of Casal, by the order of Napoleon, wrote letters to the pope, intreating him to conform to Napoleon’s proposals.

* Mr. Picot has given, in the last volume of his *Memoires*, an account of the life and writings of this abbé. He had previously published a more ample account of them, under the title of *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. Emery*...

On the 25th of March 1810, nineteen bishops assembled at Paris; and addressed, in common, a similar letter to his holiness. To all these letters, the pope sent answers, expressed in the language of mildness and wisdom; but, explicitly refusing to accede to the propositions of Napoleon.

VI.

Second ecclesiastical Commission appointed by the Emperor.

NAPOLÉON persisted in his designs; and, in January 1811, assembled a second ecclesiastical commission, composed of cardinals Fesch, Maury, and Caselli; the archbishops of Tours and Mechlin; the bishops of Evreux, Treves, and Nantes; and M. Emery. The two questions proposed to them, were,—1st, “All communication between the pope
“and emperor being, for the present, interrupted,
“to whom must recourse be had, to obtain the dispensations granted by the holy see?—2d, When
“the pope perseveres in refusing to grant bulls to
“bishops, named by the emperor, what is the legitimate method of granting canonical institution
“to them?”

“In their answer,” says M. Picot, (*Mem. vol. III. p. 552*), “the bishops mention the declaration
“of 1682, as conciliating all rights;—describe
“papal reservations, as successive infractions of the
“ancient right and usage of the church; and con-

“ clude, that, under the existing circumstances, the
“ faithful should address themselves to their dio-
“ cesan bishops, for the dispensations solicited.
“ But this, the members of the commission observe,
“ is only applicable to ordinary occasions ; and not
“ to those which have for their object, the general
“ administration of the church, and its internal dis-
“ cipline ; as it would be too inconvenient to leave,
“ to the particular will of each bishop, a right to
“ dispense with laws, enacted by the church, for
“ the good order and uniformity of its general
“ government.

In their answer to the second question,—the bishops declare, in substance, that “ the pope re-
“ fused his bulls, without alleging a canonical
“ reason ; that his bulls to the chapters of Paris,
“ Florence, and Asti, were a melancholy proof of
“ the prepossessions of the holy father ; and that
“ the wisest method to be employed, would be to
“ add to the concordat a clause, providing, that his
“ holiness should grant institution, within a deter-
“ minate term ; and that, in default of it, the right
“ should devolve to the council of the province :—
“ But, that, in such a case, it would be essential to
“ guide general opinion, which was not favourable
“ to innovation ; and that the public mind should
“ be gently prepared for it.—For this end, a coun-
“ cil, or some other solemn assembly, should be
“ convened ; or else a deputation sent to the pope,
“ to lay before him an exact state of the case.”

The answer of the commission was delivered to Napoleon, in the month of March 1811.

VII.

Deputation from the Emperor to the Pope.

IN conformity to the recommendation of the commissioners, Napoleon, in April 1811, sent a deputation to Savona, where the Pope remained, in strict confinement. It consisted of the archbishop of Tours, and the bishops of Treves and Nantes.—He announced, at the same time, the 9th of the following June, for the assembly of a general council, to consist of the bishops of France and Italy. He afterwards added the bishop of Faenza to the three prelates. Their negotiations with the pope commenced on the 10th, and ended on the 19th of May. The conduct of the pope, in every part of the discussion, was exemplary.—Finally, he appeared to promise, 1st, that he would grant the institutions to the vacant sees, in the manner prescribed by the concordat; and 2dly, that a clause should be inserted in the concordat, binding the pope to grant bulls of institution, within six months after the vacancy; and investing the metropolitan, or senior bishop, with the power of granting institution if the pope delayed the grant of it, beyond that period.

The pope refused uniformly to sanction the declaration of the Gallican clergy in 1682. “But,” says the archbishop of Tours, in his last official letter

from Savona, “ his holiness repeated frequently to
“ the members, deputed to him, that it was not his
“ intention to do any thing contrary to the decla-
“ tion of 1682, adding, that, *if the dispute turned*
“ *on the 1st article only, and which was the only*
“ *article, in which the tranquillity of states was con-*
“ *cerned, he would subscribe to it, without difficulty.*
“ He refused absolutely the engagement required
“ from him respecting the three other articles ; re-
“ garding his signature of them as useless, inas-
“ much as he expressed to us his intention not to
“ disturb them ; useless, inasmuch as the refusal or
“ delay, of the bulls or briefs, respecting the rights
“ of chapters during the vacancy of the sees, was not
“ founded on any thing contained in those articles ;—
“ and, objectionable at all events, as derogating from
“ ecclesiastical liberty, and tending to tie up the hands
“ of the holy see, and deprive the church of her right
“ to pronounce on opinions, purely theological, of
“ which she essentially was and must ever continue
“ judge, till one way or other, a final decision on
“ the point, shall pass. This, continued the pope,
“ would even be to go farther than the church of
“ France had gone ; as she only propounded the
“ declaration of 1682, as the opinion of the Gallican
“ church ; and, as liberty to teach it, was all that the
“ assembly of 1682, and Bossuet, the organ of that
“ assembly, contended for.”—The good sense and
moderation of this answer cannot be sufficiently
praised. The details of these negotiations are given

in a publication, intituled, "*Fragmens relatif à l'histoire ecclesiastique des premieres années du xix siecle.*"

VIII.

The Council of Paris.

THOUGH the council had been announced for the 9th of June 1811, it was not opened till the 17th.—It consisted of six cardinals, nine archbishops, and eighty bishops;—it was also attended by nine ecclesiastics appointed to bishopricks. An ecclesiastical assembly, so numerous, had not met since the council of Trent. Forty-nine of the prelates, who attended it, were French.

The council met, in session, on the 17th of June 1811. Cardinal Fesch was elected president, and officiated pontifically. After the gospel, the bishop of Troyes preached a sermon; the object of it was to shew the good effects of the catholic religion, on social order, and civil government. After the mass, the council was opened. The profession of faith of Pius the fourth was read; the cardinal president pronounced, on his knees, the usual oath, to observe the articles of faith contained in it, and to render true obedience to the Roman pontiff. He then received, in form, a similar oath, from all the fathers of the council, and the ecclesiastics of the second order. Then, the *Te Deum* was sung, and the usual prayers repeated.

This, was the only session of the council; but

members, or portions of it, met several times in *congregation*,—a kind of meeting, preparatory to a session. On the 10th of July Napoleon issued a decree for the dissolution of the council; but he afterwards reversed it, and allowed the congregations to assemble. Of these, the congregation held on the 5th of August was the most important. The prelates assembled at it, decreed, 1st, That, conformably to the spirit of the canons, bishoprics should not remain vacant beyond the term of one year; 2dly, That the emperor should name to the vacant see, and the nominee apply to the pope for institution; 3dly, That, in the course of the ensuing six months, the pope should give canonical institution, conformably to the concordats; 4thly, That, if the pope should not grant the institution during the six months, the metropolitan, or, if he neglected, or were himself the nominee, the senior bishop of the province should proceed to institution; and 5thly, That the decree should be submitted to the pope, with a request to permit a deputation of six prelates to attend him.—On the 25th of the same month, 85 prelates wrote a joint letter to the pope, requesting his holiness to confirm the decree; and cardinal Fesch addressed to his holiness a separate letter, to the same effect. Nine prelates took these letters to the pope at Savona, and five cardinals with the prelate Bertazzoli, the pope's almoner and secret chamberlain, were also permitted to attend him. They reached Savona towards the

end of August. On the 20th of the following month, the pope, after many conferences, by his brief *Ex quo*, confirmed the articles, with the addition of a clause, providing, that the metropolitan, or senior bishop, before he proceeded to institution, should make the customary informations, exact the profession of faith, grant institution in the name of the pope, and send, as soon as possible, the authentic act of the proceeding to his holiness. Something in this brief displeased the emperor, and he refused to receive it.

The acts of the council have not been published. The best account of them is given by M. Picot, in the *Memoires*, which we have frequently cited, and in the *Fragmens historiques*, already noticed. It is evident that Napoleon was determined either to force the pope into a compliance with his views, or to draw the council into a direct rupture with the pope. For this purpose, he used every means of artifice and intimidation. On several occasions, many of the prelates shewed great firmness; and the resistance of some of them was punished by banishment; that of others, by imprisonment. After the dissolution of the council, several meetings, composed of bishops, and ecclesiastics of the second order, met, by the command of Napoleon, at the house of the *ministre des cultes*.

IX.

Final Arrangement between the Pope and Emperor.

THE confinement of the pope at Savona was always rigid. But, at the end of the year 1810, and at the beginning of 1811, its severity was increased. Towards the middle of June 1812, the emperor unexpectedly issued an order for transferring his captive to Fontainebleau. In his journey to that place, the holy pontiff suffered many indignities from the adherents of Buonaparte ; but, wherever he passed, was received by the general body of the faithful with affection and respect. He reached Fontainebleau on the 20th of June. The severity of his confinement was continued ; but his patience and resignation never forsook him. Meantime, the persecution of the clergy was aggravated ; many were exiled ; many imprisoned. The account given in the *Ami de la Religion et du Roi*, of their persecution, *tom. 1, p. 87*, places Napoleon's conduct, on the occasion, in an odious light.

This state of things continued till the beginning of the following year. Napoleon then renewed his negotiations with the pope, by the intervention of some prelates. He afterwards obtruded himself into the presence of his august prisoner, and, (it is said), conducted himself with great grossness and brutality of look, expression, and gesture, his hands clenched, his mouth in a foam, and scarcely abstaining from personal violence.

On the 25th of January 1813, articles between the pope and the emperor were signed, to serve for the basis of a future concordat between them. The substance of them is nearly the same as the articles of 1811. But it should be observed that they were published by Napoleon, and that the authenticity of them has been questioned. Soon as these articles were signed, the pope was permitted to enjoy a greater degree of liberty; and, speaking generally, access to him was free. But Napoleon continuing his oppression of the church, and persecution of the clergy, the pope addressed to him a brief, by which, his holiness retracted the last arrangement, and announced his determination to enter into no communication on public affairs, until he should return to Rome, and enjoy complete liberty.

In this state, matters remained till the beginning of the year 1814; when, on the 22d of January, Napoleon permitted the pope's return to Rome. His holiness pursued his journey leisurely; and in every place, both within the dominions of France, and beyond them, through which he passed, was received with boundless affection and respect. On the 24th of May he arrived at Rome. His mild dignity, patience and resignation during all the persecutions of Napoleon, we have repeatedly mentioned. It may be added, as an unquestionable proof of great talent, that, in spite of the power and wiles, by which he was surrounded, although without council, and often even without a secretary, his

powerful and wily adversary never gained a single advantage over him, or forced or seduced him into a single act, which derogated from the rights, or even from the pretensions of the holy see.

CHAP. XXIII.

ECCLESIASTICAL CONCERNS IN FRANCE, SINCE THE
RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS.

1814—1816.

ALTHOUGH the subject of these pages is confined to the ecclesiastical history of the French nation, during the period assigned, yet it may not be improper, in this place, to mention summarily, the progress of the temporal aggrandisement of the French during the same period. This cannot be done better, than by noticing the event of the confederacies against her.

The first was virtually terminated by the treaty of Campo Formio, in October 1797; the second, by the treaty of Luneville, in February 1801. During the peace, or, to speak more properly, the armistice, which followed, Napoleon, in May 1804, assumed the title of emperor of the French, and was crowned at Paris in the following November. In March 1805 the kingdom of Italy was deferred to him; and he was crowned at Milan, king of Italy, in the following May. In the close of that year, a third confederacy

was formed, to which Russia, Austria, Prussia and England were parties. Napoleon obtained a complete victory over it at the battle of Austerlitz, almost immediately followed by the treaty of Presburgh, signed in the ensuing December. The first confederacy gave to France, Belgium, Italy, and a part of Germany; the second laid Austria at her feet; the third extinguished Prussia.

No event in history so nearly resembles the rapid progress of the French in this career of conquest, as the progress of Mahomet and his first companions. In each, may be found the same eagerness to propagate principles, the same thirst of plunder, the same ardour of destruction, the same enthusiasm, the same patient, and the same adventurous courage: in each, instead of waiting, like the Romans, to subdue one enemy before another was provoked, an attack was made, almost in the same moment, on the greatest part of the world. When we read of Abubeker's circular letter, "In the name of God! To all true believers: this is to acquaint you that I intend to send the true believers into Syria, to take it from the hands of the infidels,"—it is impossible not to think of the great nation sending forth her Sansculottes to plant the tree of liberty; and on Napoleon's informing Rome and Naples that their sovereigns were no more. In one instance the parallel particularly holds;—the dissensions of the chiefs never retarded, for a moment, the progress of the soldiers,

But, Napoleon is the great figure in the revolution.

The battle of Wagram raised him to the highest pitch of glory, which Providence has ever permitted an individual to attain. The military exploits of Zingis and Tamerlane, and some other eastern conquerors, carried their victories over a much larger portion of the globe; Trajan and Charlemagne reigned over more ample territories; and the geographical size of the kingdoms subject to Napoleon is far inferior to the size of those, which, to use an expression of Mr. Gibbon, were ruled by the Semiramis of the north, while Arcadius and Honorius slumbered on their southern thrones. But, if we consider what constitutes the real strength and splendor of a state;—its civilization, its power, its wealth, its energy, and particularly the intellectual stock of its subjects, all empires, which have hitherto been subject to the power of one man, incontestibly, yield to that of Napoleon.

By his victory at Wagram, his last continental enemy was subdued. His marriage with the Austrian princess had raised him above all his military compeers: and, with the single exception of Great Britain, and her insular and continental possessions, the world may be truly said to have been silent before him.

Under these circumstances, Napoleon began his ill-fated expedition to Russia. From this time, his conduct was, on several occasions, so irrational, as to give rise to a suspicion, that he laboured under a derangement of intellect; and that his mind was, at

times, deprived of its powers. He was always liable to fits of outrageous and vulgar passion ; but, till the period, to which the subject of these pages has led us, there was much greater method in his madness than he then discovered. The progress of the restoration of the Bourbon family the writer is not called upon to mention. It is sufficient to state, that on the 24th of April 1814, Lewis the eighteenth was received in France. This compilation shall be closed by a succinet statement, I. Of the restoration of the Society of Jesus ; II. And of the final arrangement between the Pope and Lewis the eighteenth, of the ecclesiastical concerns of France.

I.

The Restoration of the Society of Jesus.

IT has been mentioned, that, on the 21st of June 1773, pope Clement the fourteenth published his brief for the suppression of the jesuits. About this time, a part of Poland passed under the dominion of Russia. In this part of Poland, the bull of the pope was not published ; and the jesuits, established in it naturally permitted matters to remain in their former state : but they abstained from taking novices till 1779, when, with the permission of the diocesan, some were taken. This gave umbrage to several European potentates ; and, at their suggestion, the pope wrote a letter to his nuntios, informing them that, in giving this permission, the prelate exceeded his

powers. But the empress Catherine signified a wish to retain the jesuits, and intimated to the pope, that a suppression of them, in her dominions, would deprive her catholic subjects of the blessing of instruction; particularly as there would be no means, if the jesuits should be banished, of supplying their place. Upon this, the pope assented to their conservation; and, by the order of the empress, and under the authority of M. Siestrzencewicz, the bishop of Mallo, and apostolic vicar in Russia, a general congregation of them was assembled in the college of Polocz, on the 17th of October 1782, and elected father Czeriewiez their vicar-general. At this time, the jesuits had six houses in Russia; and in these, 172 members of the order. In 1783, M. Siestrzencewicz was named by the pope archbishop of Mohilow. At the request of the empress, the pope raised it to an archiepiscopal see. For this purpose he sent M. Archetti, in the character of nuncio, to Petersburg; M. Archetti proceeded to the promotion of M. Siestrzencewicz, and gave him a coadjutor,—the empress signing the necessary acts.

On the 7th of August 1814, the pope re-established the Society of Jesus, by his bull, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*. By this, he derogated from the brief of Clement the fourteenth.—He mentions the numerous requests, for their re-establishment, which he had received from persons of every class; praises their zeal and conduct in the countries, in which they had been re-established, and authorizes Thaddeus

Borzozowski, their superior-general, to re-unite them in community, to employ themselves on education in colleges and seminaries, and in the functions of the ministry, conformably to the rule of St. Ignatius; and he immediately restored to them their three houses in Rome.

SINCE the greater part of the preceding pages was printed, the writer of them has seen, and considered with great attention, a *History of the Jesuits, in two volumes 8vo.* recently printed for *Baldwin, Cradock and Joy*, in Pater-noster Row. It has not altered the opinion already intimated by him, on the general merit of that very interesting society. No one can be more independent of it, less connected with its members, or have fewer calls on him to advocate their cause:—But,

Pleased to spread friendships and to cover heats,—POPE.

he cannot refuse himself the satisfaction of offering, in this place, a few lines in their defence.

I. The work, to which he refers, is intituled *the History of the Jesuits*; but,—can that be called a history, which is confined to what is considered, justly or unjustly, is not now the question,—the dark side of the character of those, whose *history* its author professes to relate?—When Pascal wrote his Provincial Letters, he professed to lay before the public, a collection of objectionable passages, ex-

tracted from writings of different members of the society. To produce and confine his work to these, was strictly conformable to *his* plan; and, if he had done it fairly, no blame could justly be imputed to him; for not producing, at the same time, the numberless passages of the soundest and noblest morality, with which their works abound. But,—if he had called his performance a *history*, the suppression of the latter, while he brought the former forwards, would have been unjust. Does it not therefore deserve the consideration of the author of *The History*, whether,—when he gives his work the title of history, but confines its contents to what he thinks objectionable in the conduct of those, whose *history* he relates, without particularising in due proportion, the commendable parts of their conduct, he can be said to fulfil the first duty of an historian,—that of withholding nothing, which is true. That, in the conduct of the jesuits, much was highly commendable, they have not a respectable adversary, who does not willingly allow. Their individual respectability, the abstemiousness of their lives, their always decorous and always pleasing manners, the services rendered by them to literature, their acknowledged activity and skill in the education of youth, their labours for the spiritual instruction of the poor, are acknowledged even by their enemies. Nor did these, while they blamed some parts of their missionary conduct in Asia, Africa, or America, refuse to its general tenor, a large allowance of praise.—Surely

therefore, the amiable and respectable parts of their character, had a claim to The Historian's notice ; and entitled the subjects of his history to expect from him, that some, at least, of the many pages employed on their crimination, would have been employed in recording the numerous facts, which attest their literary, their moral, and their religious merit.

II. Further,—is it too much to request of The Historian, that, if he should sit down to a revisal of his work, he would examine, *whether, at the time he wrote it, his mind was not impressed with pre-conceived opinions, which prevented his exercise of impartial judgment?*—The free use of the press, which the English roman-catholics now enjoy, they acknowledge with gratitude; but, for nearly two hundred years the English press was so far in the hands of the protestant public, that few works, written by catholic pens, were circulated beyond their own pale. During all this time, both the church and state of England were split into parties. Agreeing in nothing else, all united in the abuse of catholics in general, and of the jesuits in particular. As the nation was taught to think nothing so odious as a papist, each party hurled on the other, the accusation of favouring papistry; and each, to repel the charge from itself, strove to outdo the other in the vehemence of its abuse of papists. The consequence, as naturally might be expected, has been, that even to this day, a vague, indistinct prejudice

against roman-catholics in general, and jesuits in particular, still operates on some minds, and induces them rather to judge of what they read, by their prejudices, than to try their prejudices by what they are reading.

III. On no other ground, can the writer account for The Historian's belief of the *genuineness of the Monita Secreta*,—one of the grossest and vilest impositions, that ever issued from the press.

Where the rules of honourable crimination are observed,—first, the charge is made ; and, after it is made, all opinion on it is suspended, till the accused puts in his answer ;—if he deny the charge, his innocence is supposed, till his guilt is proved ;—the proofs of the guilt are then brought forward, and these are always required to be proportioned to its magnitude. But, before any proof of the guilt can be required, the possibility of its commission is established or assumed.

Now, *the Monita Secreta* suppose,—that certain leading members of the society entered into a deliberate plan of subjugating the universe to their sway,—with a settled determination that, where any villany would avail them, they would adopt any villany ;—that this horrid project was reduced to system,—that the system is expressed in the *Monita Secreta* ; and that these were put into the hands of the elect, to be used by them, whenever occasion should make it expedient.

Is this possible?—Has it entered into the mind

of man, to conceive such an infernal plan? When the queen of France was charged with practices on her son, she nobly appealed, for the impossibility of the charge, to the feelings of every mother; and the feelings of every mother absolved her.—For the impossibility of the genuineness of the *Monita Secreta*, the jesuits, with equal confidence, may appeal to the feelings of every gentleman in the universe.

But,—to enter into some discussion of the charge:—Such is its atrocity, that nothing, short of the highest degree of proof, should be received in its support. Proof of this kind, there is none. Some one,—it is only conjectured who he was,—publishes an edition of the work, from a copy, which he says he found of it, in a library. The copy itself was never produced, no circumstance respecting its discovery ever related, no collateral fact to establish its authenticity, ever published. The jesuits have uniformly protested against it, and the doctrines it inculcates. There does not live the jesuit, or the scholar of a jesuit, who, if any one of the doctrines, which it inculcates, or any one practice, which it recommends, were proposed to him, would not spurn it with horror.

IV. Almost all the charges, which the adversaries of the jesuits bring against them, may be found in *Histoire générale des Jesuites of la Coudrette*,—the *Provincial Letters*,—the *Rapports of Montclar and la Charlotais*,—the *Morale pratique des Jesuites*, and the *Extraits des Assertions dangereuses*

et pernicieuses en tout genre, que les soi-disant jésuites ont, dans tous les tems et persévéramment, soutenues, enseignés et publiés dans leur livres, avec l'approbation des Supérieurs et Généraux.

1. With respect to the first,—that la Coudrette is a party man, cannot be denied. Like those of all party writers, his works should, therefore, be read with some distrust; and nothing, resting on his single assertion, should be admitted, without some hesitation.

2. With respect to the *Provincial Letters*,—few have read or meditated them with more attention than the writer of these pages;—but he has also read and meditated the Answer to them of *Father Daniel*, in his *Dialogues de Cleanthe and Eudoxe*; and, previously to his perusing either, he placed himself in that perfect state of doubt, which Descartes requires from a disciple, who enters on his meditations. The result was,—that father Daniel appeared to him so often victorious in the combat, as to leave little that could be justly charged on the individual members, and nothing that could be justly charged on the general body of the society.—If The Historian has proceeded in the same manner, and arrived at a different conclusion, far be it from the writer of these pages to question his sincerity: but he claims an equal allowance of sincerity for himself, and for all,—they are both respectable and numerous,—who agree with

him in opinion, that the author of the Provincial Letters is as often inaccurate or unfair, as he is witty or eloquent.

3. With respect to the *Morale pratique, the Rapports, and the Extraits des Assertions*,—may the writer be permitted to observe, that no one should form any conclusion from these, if he have not read the *Reponse aux Assertions*, published in 1763, in three large quarto volumes. In this work, the jesuits charge the author of the Assertions with 758 falsifications and alterations of the texts cited by him. They produce, from the text, every passage pronounced by them to be falsified or altered, and confront it with the corresponding passage in the work of their adversary. Now, both in and out of courts of law, it is a received axiom, that a person, who denies a charge, is to be reputed innocent of it, until it is proved on him by proper evidence. Surely therefore, none, who have not examined, a large proportion, at least, of these passages, and found them misrepresented by the jesuits, should pronounce them guilty of the doctrines imputed to them by the author of the Assertions. It cannot be expected of many, that they should read the three ponderous volumes, to which the writer has referred; if, however, any person should be disposed to give a serious consideration to the subject, he should, at least, read the pages,—not very numerous,—that

compose the *Examen du procès verbal*, which concludes the work. Greatly surprised indeed will the writer of these pages be, if a single person, who reads them, should not concur with him in thinking, that the persons, who drew up the *procès verbal*, possessed no ordinary share of intrepidity.

V. It remains to notice the extracts made by The Historian of the jesuits, from *bulls and briefs*, by which popes have affected to exempt the jesuits from the civil power.

But these bulls and briefs, so far as they have this tendency, make no part of the institute of the society. In the *Apologie de l'institut des jesuites*, one of their standard works of defence, (tom. ii. ch. 27),—this is explicitly asserted. The author of it proves, by numerous examples, that, while the jesuits would rather die, than give up their institute, they resign, without reserve, all claims to these exemptions, when they are repugnant to the laws of any country in which they settle.

1. Thus,—in 1611, 1626 and 1713, they recognised the absolute civil independence of the sovereign on the pope, in solemn instruments, signed by them, with every legal formality, and entered on the *Records of the Parliament of Paris*.

2. In a former part of this work, the writer has inserted the declaration of the Gallican clergy in 1682. The first article of it proclaims the absolute civil independence of the sovereign on the pope. Now, these articles were taught in all the schools

of the French jesuits, and in 1757 and 1761 they formally and explicitly avowed their adherence to them. It has been related, that this was certified to the court, by the bishops of France ;—it ought to have been added, that, *at this time*, the gale of promotion veered in the opposite direction, so that a certificate of the contrary was then much more likely to obtain the favours of court *.

3. Finally,—“ In the year 1761,” say the authors of the *Reponse aux Assertions*, vol. 3. p. 597, “ at which time, the jesuits were most bitterly attacked for their institute and doctrine,—a model of a declaration was sent to the five provincials of the jesuits in France, by the chancellor

* No writer, perhaps, has expressed in fewer words, or with greater accuracy, the different natures of spiritual and temporal power, and their respective limits, than father Parsons, in his “ *Answer to the fifth part of Reports, lately set forth by Sir Edward Cooke, Knight, the King's Attorney General, 1606,*” 8vo. page 31. “ As the temporal magistrate, “ for furnishing of his authority, hath power also to punish “ temporallee, when occasion is offered, and this either in “ goods, body, or life ; so have spiritual magistrates also, by “ Christ's appointment, *ecclesiastical power*, not only to “ teach, exhort, instruct, and direct, as hath been said, but “ to punish, in like manner, by spiritual *censures*, much more “ grievous and dreadful, *in respect to the life to come*, than “ are the fore-named punishments of the civil magistrate.— “ Which censures are three in number, answering, after “ a certain manner, to the former three of the temporal “ magistrate ; and there are, according to catholicke divinity, and canons of the church, suspension, interdict, and “ excommunication.”

Lamoignon; and a copy of it was desired to be returned to him, signed by the priests and young jesuits of all the colleges and houses in the kingdom. All their signatures were accordingly given and transmitted to the chancellor.”—The Declaration is thus expressed :

“ First, that they hold and profess, and will ever
“ hold and profess, that, in no circumstance, in
“ no place, under no pretence of tyranny, or
“ vexation from persecution, on no account of religion, under no other possible pretence, is it
“ lawful, or can it be made lawful, for any person,
“ whatever be his state or condition, to make any
“ attempt, directly or indirectly, on the persons
“ of sovereigns ; or to speak, write, insinuate, favor,
“ or do any other act, which can tend to endanger
“ their safety :—that they condemn and detest, as
“ pernicious and deserving the execration of all ages,
“ any doctrine to the contrary, which may be found
“ in any works, that may have been composed, either
“ by any member of their society, or by any other
“ person, whosoever he may be.

“ Secondly,—*That they hold and profess, and*
“ *will ever hold and profess the doctrine of the*
“ *clergy of France, declared in their assembly*
“ *of 1682 :*”—(see page 46 of the present work.)—
“ Consequently, they teach, and always will teach,
“ that the power, given by Jesus Christ to St. Peter,
“ to his successors, and to the Church itself, is
“ purely spiritual, and extends to that only, which

“ belongs to eternal salvation ; that they have no
“ power over any thing that concerns temporals ;
“ and that thus the power of sovereigns in temporals
“ is so totally independent of every spiritual power,
“ that in no case, for no cause, and on no pretence
“ whatever, can they, either directly or indirectly,
“ be deposed by the power of the Keys, or their sub-
“ jects absolved,—from their oath of allegiance.

“ Thirdly,—That they are, and always will be,
“ subject to the laws, ordonances, regulations, and
“ usages of the kingdom, in the same manner as all
“ other subjects of the king, either spiritual or lay :
“ as also, to the rules of the discipline and the com-
“ mon law of the church, in the same manner as these
“ are binding on the other religious persons in the
“ kingdom, and that they cannot attempt any thing
“ contrary to the rights of the bishops, curates, uni-
“ versities, or others:—*or make any use of any pri-
“ vilege, whatever it may be, except so far as it is
“ conformable to the import of the laws and
“ maxims of the kingdom.*

“ Fourthly,—That, if it should happen,—(which
“ may God forbid!),—that they should be ordered by
“ their general, or by any other person, invested with
“ any authority, whatever it may be, to do, (contrary
“ to the declarations above expressed), any thing
“ against the laws of the church or the state, to their
“ duty to their sovereigns, or to the public welfare
“ or tranquillity, they declare, that they hold, and
“ ever will hold, such decrees or instruments, to be

“ null,—on every ground of right, (*de plein droit*);
“ and that they would be, and would consider them-
“ selves obliged to disobey them.”

Does not *this* satisfy The Historian?—Then let himself repair to *The Stoneyhurst*, which he has so much celebrated.—He will not be an hour within its walls without laughing at the *Monita Secreta*; and, the third morning of his visit will not pass over him, without his feeling some compunction for his history, and offering to his learned, his pious, and his pleasing hosts, the hand of peace.

II.

*Negotiations now pending between the Pope and the
King of France.*

THE writer of these pages hoped that, before they should be finally committed to the press, the *Concordat*, which has been so long in agitation between the pope and the king of France, would be finally arranged; and he intended to close his work with an account of this important event. But, the arrangement has not yet taken place; and the writer has not been able to procure authentic information, either of the actual state of the negotiation, or its probable result. It is said, that in September last, the count de Blacas arrived in Paris from Rome, with a projet, which had satisfied the Roman See, but which was not favourably received by the councils of his own court. A vague rumour at Paris,

most likely without foundation, now assigns the first of next May for the publication of the Concordat. That the arrangement may speedily take place, that it may be founded on large and liberal principles of wise policy and true religion, on those principles, which Bossuet would approve for the church, d'Aguésseau for the state, and Pole and Sadolet for the See of Rome, must be the wish of every sincere Christian ; of those particularly, who are acquainted with the former glories of the illustrious church of France, with the space it filled in the territories of the Gospel, and the importance of its well-being to the general cause of Christianity.

APPENDIX.

Appendix, No. 1.

The Conference between Bossuet and the Bishop of Tournay, on the Declaration of the Gallican Clergy in 1682;—referred to in page 46. From the Nouveaux Opuscles de Fleury, Paris, 1807.

L'EVEQUE de Tournay, Choiseul-Praslin, fut chargé de dresser les propositions; mais il l'exécuta mal et scolastiquement. Ce fut M. l'évêque de Meaux qui les rédigea telles que nous les avons. On tint des assemblées chez M. l'archevêque de Paris, où elles furent examinées; on disputa beaucoup; on vouloit y faire mention des appellations au concile, mais l'évêque de Meaux résista. Elles ont été, disoit-il, nommément condamnées par des bulles de Pie II. et de Jules II. Rome est engagée à les condamner. Il ne faut pas donner prise à condamner nos propositions. Jusqu'ici nous n'avons presque fait qu'emprunter les propres paroles de l'abbé Fleury.

Ce docte historien nous dit bien que les propositions avoient été *mal et scolastiquement dressées par M. l'évêque de Tournay*, mais il nous laisse ignorer quelles étoient ces propositions. Nous les avons inutilement cherchées dans les procès-verbeaux manuscrits et imprimés de l'assemblée de 1682, ainsi que dans les histoires du temps. Les uns et les autres gardent aussi un profond silence sur une vive contestation qui s'éleva à ce sujet,

entre ce prélat et M. Bossuet. L'évêque de Tournay établissoit dans ses propositions que le S. Siège, aussi bien que le Pape, pouvoit tomber dans l'hérésie; et par là il ruinoit l'indéfectibilité du S. Siège. M. Bossuet, choqué de cette doctrine, la combattit hautement. L'évêque de Tournay la défendit avec chaleur; il prétendoit que si on admettoit le principe de l'indéfectibilité du S. Siège dans la foi, il faudroit conséquemment reconnoître l'infailibilité du Pape. M. Bossuet nioit cette conséquence, et soutenoit que cette indéfectibilité devoit être mise en principe incontestable. La dispute dura long-temps: elle finit de la part de M. l'évêque de Tournay, par renoncer à la rédaction des articles; et, sur son désistement, M. Bossuet en fut chargé. C'est M. de Fénélon, dans un traité latin encore manuscrit, sur l'infailibilité du Pape, qui nous apprend cette anecdote, et qui raconte en détail toute cette dispute intéressante, telle qu'il l'avoit apprise de la bouche de M. Bossuet.

Voici le texte de M. de Fénélon, que nous avons jugé à propos de traduire.

DOMINUS BOSSUETUS, episcopus Meldensis, non ita pridem defunctus, coràm testibus fide dignis mihi sæpè narravit ea quæ gesta sunt in generalibus cleri Gallicani comitiis, annæ 1682. Hæc autem habebat ejusmodi narratio.

M. BOSSUET, évêque de Meaux, mort depuis peu de temps, m'a souvent raconté en présence de témoins dignes de foi, ce qui s'étoit passé dans l'assemblée générale du clergé de France, en 1682; et voici une des particularités de sa narration.

D. de Choiseul, episcopus Tornacensis, delectus fuerat ut cleri Gallicani declarationem de pontificiâ auctoritate scriberet. Scripsit, lecta est. Continuo Meldensis restitit in faciem, eò quod apostolicam sedem juxta ac personas Pontificum hæresim amplecti posse declararet. “Atqui nisi id dixeris,” aiebat Tornacensis, “romanam infallibilitatem, velis, nolis, adstruas necesse est. Neque tu,” instabat Meldensis, “negare potes fidem Petri in suâ sede nunquam esse defecturam: id ex promissis aperte constat; id ex traditione universâ lucidissime patet. Si res ita sit,” aiebat Tornacensis, “tribuenda est absolutissima non hominî quidem sedenti, sed sedi infallibilitas; atque adeò fatendum singula decreta, quæ ab apostolicâ sede emanant, esse prorsus

M. de Choiseul-Praslin, évêque de Tournay, avoit été choisi pour dresser la déclaration du clergé de France, sur l'autorité du Pape. Il la dressa; on la lut; et aussitôt l'évêque de Meaux s'éleva contre elle avec force, parce qu'elle portoit que le siège apostolique, aussi bien que les personnes des Papes, pouvoient devenir hérétiques. “Mais si vous ne convenez pas de ce point,” disoit l'évêque de Tournay, “vous êtes forcé de reconnoître l'infailibilité du Pape.” L'évêque de Meaux répliquoit: “vous ne pouvez pas nier que la foi de Pierre ne manquera jamais dans son siège; cela est ouvertement renfermé dans les promesses, et toute la tradition rend à cette vérité le témoignage le plus évident. Si cela est ainsi,” répliquoit l'évêque de Tournay, “il faut accorder l'infailibilité la plus absolue, sinon à l'homme assis dans le siège, du moins au siège; et par conséquent il faut avouer que tous les décrets qui émanent du saint siège, sont entièrement irréformables

“ irreformabilia, et infallibili auctoritate firmari.” Objectionem ita solvere conabatur Meldensis. “ Indefectibilis quidem est hujus sedis fides, neque tamen infallibilia sunt illius judicia. Quomodò probas,” aiebat Tornacensis, “ indefectibilem esse hujus sedis fidem? Id probò ex promissis Christi,” aiebat Meldensis, “ quando quidem Christus expressissimè dicit: *Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua.* En hæc est fides Petri in ejus sede nunquàm defectura. Si nosses aliquam uspiam gentium ecclesiam cui promissum esset à Christo, fidem ejus nunquàm esse defecturam, nonne crederes juxtà promissum, fidem ejus nunquàm esse defecturam? Si huic ecclesiæ promissum esset, eam semper fore unam ex ecclesiis catholicis et hæreticâ labe expertibus, nonne tibi omninò constaret, hanc ecclesiam semper

“ et appuyés sur une autorité infaillible.” L'évêque de Meaux tâchoit de résoudre ainsi l'objection. “ La foi de ce siège est indéfectible, il est vrai; et cependant ses jugemens ne sont pas infaillibles. Comment prouveriez-vous,” disoit l'évêque de Tournay, “ que la foi de ce siège est indéfectible? Je le prouve,” disoit l'évêque de Meaux, “ par les promesses de notre Seigneur; notre Seigneur n'a-t-il pas dit très-expressément: *J'ai prié pour vous, afin que votre foi ne manque point.* Voilà donc cette foi de Pierre qui ne manquera jamais dans son siège. Si vous connoissiez quelque église dans le monde, à qui Jésus-Christ ait promis que sa foi ne manqueroit dans aucun temps, ne croiriez-vous pas que, conformément à la promesse, sa foi ne manquera jamais? S'il avoit encore été promis à cette église, qu'elle sera toujours une des églises catholiques et

“ fore catholicam, atque adeo indefectibilem in catholicâ
“ fide? Quantò magis id te credere oportet de sede
“ apostolicâ, cui promissum est eam semper fore non so-
“ lùm unam ex catholicis ecclesiis, sed primam omnium
“ catholicarum, itaut sit æternum fundamentum, caput
“ atque centrum catholicitatis, ad devincendas portas in-
“ feri, et confirmandos fratres.” Dùm verò Tornacensis
hæc singula argutè refellere niteretur, acriùs urgebat
Meldensis. “ Responde,” aiebat peremptoriâ voce, “ an
“ sedes apostolica fieri possit hæretica nec ne, id est, an
“ possit nec ne hæreticum dogma obstinato et contumaci
“ animo contrâ dissentientes omnes suæ communionis
“ ecclesias tueri ac definire, itaut alias sibi adversantes
“ excommunicet? Quidquid dixeris erit contrâ te. Si
“ dixeris apostolicam sedem posse fieri hæreticam et in

“ pures de toute tache d’hérésie, ne seriez-vous pas par
“ là même parfaitement certain que cette église sera tou-
“ jours catholique, et par conséquent indéfectible dans la
“ foi catholique? Combien plus est-il nécessaire que vous
“ ayez cette croyance à l’égard du siège apostolique, au-
“ quel le Seigneur a promis qu’il sera toujours, non seule-
“ ment une des églises catholiques, mais encore la
“ première de toutes ces églises; en sorte qu’il sera à
“ jamais le fondement, le chef et le centre de la catholi-
“ cité, pour surmonter les portes de l’enfer et confirmer
“ les frères.” Pendant que l’évêque de Tournay employ-
oit toute sa subtilité à réfuter cet argument, l’évêque de
Meaux le poussoit avec plus de vivacité. “ Répondez,”
lui disoit-il d’une voix péremptoire, “ le siège aposto-
“ lique peut-il devenir hérétique ou non; c’est-à-dire, peut-
“ il ou non soutenir et définir un dogme hérétique avec
“ obstination et contre la réclamation de toutes les églises

“ tuendâ suâ hæresi schismaticam, ergò per te fieri potest,
 “ ut caput Ecclesiæ à corpore divellatur, et corpus de-
 “ truncatum fiat exanime. Ergò fieri potest ut centrum
 “ unitatis fidei, sit fidei corruptæ atque hæreseos cen-
 “ trum. At verò, si dixeris hanc sedem in fide, cujus
 “ centrum est atque caput, deficere non posse; ergò
 “ indefectibilis est hujus sedis fides.”

Respondebat Tornacensis, “ ipse ipse videris, quid tu
 “ tibi ipsi reponere debeas. Tuum est æquè ac meum
 “ captiosam hanc objectionem solvere. Ex confesso hoc
 “ argumentum nihil probat, quandoquidem nimis probat.
 “ Enim verò si probaret aliquid, certissimè et evidentis-
 “ simè probaret infallibilitatem sedis quam tu mecum

“ de sa communion qui penseroient différemment, en
 “ sorte qu’il excommuniât toutes les églises qui auroient
 “ un sentiment contraire au sien? Tout ce que vous
 “ direz se tournera contre vous. Si vous dites que le
 “ siège apostolique peut devenir hérétique, et par sa per-
 “ sévéranee à soutenir l’erreur, schismatique, donc il
 “ pourra arriver de votre aveu que le chef de l’Eglise soit
 “ séparé du corps, et que le corps n’ayant plus de chef,
 “ soit privé de vie; donc il peut arriver que le centre de
 “ l’unité de la foi devienne le centre de la foi corrompue
 “ et de l’hérésie. Si vous dites au contraire que ce siège
 “ ne peut pas manquer dans la foi, dont il est le chef et
 “ le centre, donc la foi de ce siège est indéfectible.”

L’évêque de Tournay répondoit: “ voyez ce que vous-
 “ même avez à répondre à vous-même; car vous êtes
 “ obligé comme moi de résoudre cette objection cap-
 “ tieuse. Cet argument, de votre aveu, ne prouve rien,
 “ parce qu’il prouve trop. Effectivement s’il prouvoit
 “ quelque chose, il prouveroit très-certainement et très-

“negas. Si fides sedis indefectibilis est, necesse est ut
 “hæc sedes nihil unquam contra fidem definiat. Quid
 “enim à verâ fide magis deficit, quàm hæretica contra
 “fidem definitio? Atqui transalpini, dùm infallibilitatem
 “asserunt, nihil aliud volunt præter hanc conclusionem,
 “scilicet apostolicam sedem nihil unquam definire posse
 “contra catholicam fidem, atque adeò Papam ex cathe-
 “drâ solemnî ritu definientem nunquam contra fidem
 “errare posse. Cave igitur ne gladio tuo te jugules, et
 “stabilias hoc ipsum quod confutare hactenùs studuisti.
 Meldensis reponebat,—“iterùm atque iterùm moneo, dis-
 “tinguendam esse ab infallibilitate judiciorum in docen-
 “dâ fide, sedis indefectibilitatem in fide tenendâ. Porrò
 “fides hujus sedis indefectibilis est, ut ex promissione

“évidemment cette infailibilité du siège, que vous niez
 “comme moi. Si la foi du siège est indéfectible, il est ne-
 “cessaire d’admettre que ce siège ne définira jamais rien
 “contre la foi; car est-il rien qui soit plus une défection
 “de la vraie foi, qu’une définition hérétique contre la
 “foi? Or les ultramontains, en soutenant l’infailibilité, ne
 “veulent rien de plus que cette conclusion, c’est-à-dire,
 “veulent seulement que le siège apostolique ne puisse
 “rien définir contre la foi catholique, et par conséquent
 “que le Pape parlant solennellement *ex cathedrâ*, ne
 “puisse jamais errer contre la foi. Prenez donc garde
 “que vous ne vous perciez de vos propres traits, et que
 “vous n’établissiez ce que vous vous êtes efforcé jusqu’à
 “présent d’abattre.” L’évêque de Meaux répondoit :
 “Je vous avertis encore une fois qu’il faut distinguer l’in-
 “faillibilité des jugemens dans l’enseignement de la foi,
 “d’avec l’indéfectibilité du siège dans le maintien
 “de la foi: or la foi de ce siège est indéfectible, ainsi
 “qu’il est manifeste par les promesses de Jésus-Christ

“Christi et traditione Ecclesiæ patet; at verò judicia
“sedis non sunt infallibilia. O rem prorsus incredibilem!”
aiebat Tornacensis, “quo pacto fieri posse existimas, ut
“quispiam homo, qui numquàm in fide deficeret, falli
“posset in declarandâ rectâ suâ fide quæ ex hypothesi
“nunquàm esset defectura? Nonne in fide deficeret, si
“hæresim pro verâ fide credendam esse putaret, et defi-
“nitiva sententia pronunciaret? Quod si hæresim pro
“verâ fide credendam esse numquàm putaret, quomodò
“circâ fidem posset errare? Profectò eo mitiori indefec-
“tibilitatis nomine, ipsissimam quam negas transalpi-
“norum infallibilitatem nobis insinuas, et tibi ipsi peri-
“culosissimè illudis. Igitur assigna præcisè ac nitidè in
“quo differre possint tua hæc indefectibilitas, et illa
“infallibilitas transalpina.”

“et la tradition de l'Eglise; mais les jugemens de ce
“siège ne sont pas infaillibles. O chose vraiment in-
“croyable,” s'écrioit l'évêque de Tournay! “comment
“pensez-vous qu'il puisse arriver, se faire qu'un homme
“qui ne manqueroit jamais dans la foi, se trompe dans
“la déclaration de sa vraie foi, qui par hypothèse ne
“manquera jamais? Quoi! ne manqueroit-il pas dans
“la foi, s'il croyoit que l'hérésie dût être reçue pour la
“vraie foi, et s'il le pronongoit par une sentence défini-
“tive? Que s'il ne devoit jamais croire que l'hérésie dût
“être reçue pour la vraie foi, comment pourroit-il érrer
“sur la foi? Assurément, sous ce nom adouci d'indé-
“fectibilité, vous nous insinuez cette même infaillibilité
“des ultramontains, que vous niez; et vous vous faites
“très-dangereusement illusion à vous-même. Assignez
“donc précisément et nettement en quoi peuvent
“différer votre indéfectibilité et l'infaillibilité ultra-
“montaine.”

Tūm Meldensis episcopus dicebat,—“promissum quidem fuisse apostolicæ sedi, eam æternum fore Ecclesiæ catholicæ fundamentum, centrum atque caput, atque adeò eam nunquàm fore schismaticam, quemadmodum plurimæ orientales ecclesiæ, quæ catholicâ communione olim gaudentes, in schisma et in hæresim tandem prolapsæ sunt. Ex promissis constat,” (hæ sunt Meldensis voces), “id nunquàm eventurum sedi apostolicæ. Enim verò si sedes illa circà fidem erraret, non erraret pertinaci et obstinato animo : à cæteris ecclesiis ad rectum fidei tramitem citò revocaretur. Simul atque sentiret se errare, abdicaret errorem. Undè etiàm si bono animo forsàn aliquandò erret, attamen schisma et hæresim usque ad consummationem sæculi declinabit. Itaque hæc sedes in judicando falli quidem et errare

Alors l'évêque de Meaux disoit,—“qu'il avoit bien été promis au siège apostolique qu'il seroit le fondement éternel, le centre, la tête de l'Eglise catholique, et par conséquent qu'il ne seroit jamais schismatique, ainsi que le sont plusieurs églises orientales, qui jouissant autrefois de la communion de l'Eglise catholique, sont enfin tombées dans le schisme et l'hérésie. Il est constant par les promesses,” (ce sont les termes de l'évêque de Meaux,) “que cela n'arrivera jamais au siège apostolique ; car si ce siège erroit sur la foi, ce ne seroit pas avec obstination et opiniâtreté : les autres églises le ramèneroient bientôt au véritable sentier de la foi. Aussitôt qu'il appercevrait qu'il erre, il rejetteroit l'erreur. D'où il résulte que si peut-être il lui arrive quelquefois d'errer sans mauvaise intention, cependant il ne lui arrivera jamais de tomber dans le schisme et l'hérésie. Ainsi, ce siège peut bien se tromper et errer dans ses

“ potest circa fidem ; sed error ille venialis esset, neque
 “ tamen fides Petri in hac sede deficeret, quandoquidem
 “ hæc sedes constantissimè vellet purissimæ omnium suæ
 “ communionis ecclesiarum fidei adhærere. Non erraret
 “ cum pertinaciâ, nunquàm vinculum communionis ab-
 “ rumperet. Animo et affectu semper esset catholica,
 “ undè nunquàm hæretica esset. Itaque expressissimis
 “ promissorum vocibus penitùs adhæreo, indefectibilita-
 “ tem asserens, neque tamen admitto commentitiam
 “ hanc cisalpinorum infallibilitatem.”

Finitâ hac inter utrûmque antistitem altercatione, Tornacensis à scribendæ declarationis officio se se abdicavit. Meldensis verò huic mumeri obeundo suffectus, quatuor propositiones, uti etiamnùm exstant, continuò scripsit.

“ jugemens sur la foi, mais cette erreur seroit vénielle ;
 “ et la foi de Pierre ne manqueroit point dans son siège,
 “ parce que ce siège très-constamment voudroit adhérer
 “ à la très-pure foi de toutes les églises de sa communion :
 “ il n’erreroit pas avec opiniâtreté ; il ne romproit jamais
 “ le lien de la communion ; il seroit toujours d’esprit et
 “ de cœur catholique, et par conséquent ne seroit jamais
 “ hérétique. Ainsi, en soutenant l’indéfectibilité, je ne
 “ fais que m’attacher pleinement aux paroles très-ex-
 “ presses de la promesse ; et cependant je n’adnets pas
 “ cette infailibilité prétendue des ultramontains.”

A la fin de cette contestation entre les deux évêques, celui de Tournay se désista de la commission qui lui avoit été donnée, de rédiger la déclaration des sentimens du clergé de France. L’évêque de Meaux en fut chargé, et aussitôt il écrivit les quatre propositions, telles que nous les avons.

Appendix, No. 2.

On the edifying Lives of Religious Communities, referred to in page 263. Extracted from a Sermon of the *reverend John Fletcher, roman-catholic pastor of Olney in Buckinghamshire*, page 54, Vol. II.

“ INTERROGATING the rule of one of our retreats of piety, the protestant will find it,—not, as probably his ignorance has hitherto believed,—the dictate of indolence, and the suggestion of sensuality and superstition;—he will find it the dictate and suggestion of precisely the contrary virtues,—of painful industry, of rigid mortification, and of enlightened sanctity,—the invention of wisdom to coerce passion, and of piety to enliven virtue: its discipline,—frequent fasts, prayers, watching, silence, meditation—and in some institutions, much manual labour. And, let him investigate, in what manner this rule is followed.—Exceptions, perhaps, (the thing is but too natural),—a few exceptions he may find, from the nice punctuality of its observance. Spite of every precaution that vigilance can employ, dissipation or neglect will sometimes steal into the sanctuaries of virtue, because passion is no where extinguished totally, on this side the grave. But, making this allowance for the accidents of human weakness, our enquirer will find, that the professors of the rule do, in general, with edifying exactitude, comply with its painful and various obligations. Assisting at their exercises of devotion, he will witness a scene that hypocrisy could not imitate;—he will trace, in their fervor

and recollection, the expression of something almost angelic; and in the joy, which beams on their countenances, he will read the attestation of hearts that are innocent,—of minds that are at rest. Viewing them at their humble meal, he will behold a striking contrast with the luxury of worldly sensuality;—their food, often little else than bread, and a few cold vegetables—their beverage, colder frequently than their vegetables,—the water from the stream that murmurs round their cells. Observing them in their practices of penance, he will see them endure, in some instances, what it would almost seem, the weakness of the human constitution could not bear. Stealing a look at them in the hours of solitude, in the retirement of their cells, he will contemplate creatures absorpt entirely in the prospects of future things. In short, consulting the whole tenor of their lives, he will find them, at least many of them—I do not say saints, but saintly individuals;—individuals fervent, humble, patient, meek, chaste; and like St. Paul, “*always carrying about in their bodies, the mortification of Jesus Christ.*” (2 Cor. iv.) I have alluded, it is true, only to the most rigid of our conventual institutions; and what I have said respecting them is very strictly correct. But, if even a similar enquiry were made into the conduct of our other less austere establishments, it would, in like manner, be discovered, that they too, in general, comply very edifyingly with the duties of their respective rules; and that, with few exceptions,—for it is morally impossible that there should not be exceptions,—their members are pious, regular and holy.

“I have not told our inquirer into the conduct of the religious orders, to ask, who, often, the individuals are that form their members? Asking that question, he

would frequently discover that they are—many of them, —the children of fortune, nursed in their early years, in the lap of luxury; and perhaps, till the age of maturity, trained to all the charms of worldly gratification. I did not bid him consult the character of their understandings. Consulting that, he would find out also, that the creatures, whom hitherto he has supposed to be the dupes of ignorance, or the victims of their parents cruelty, are in reality, individuals possessed of minds the most cultivated and enlightened—and, if indeed they be the victims of any thing,—the victims only of divine love. But in short, my brethren, let me conclude my observations on our religious orders, 'by saying, that whoever derides their institution, or whoever thinks meanly of their members, is in the first instance, unacquainted with the spirit of the christian dispensation, and in the second, he is ignorant of the state of our convents. The virtue and piety which still reign there,—or in the generality of them,—are beautiful features in the portrait of catholic holiness."

Appendix No. 3.

Referred to in page 287.

CONVERSATION at Elba, *between the Emperor Napoleon and an English Gentleman; extracted from a Letter written by the latter, to the compiler of these pages.*

“ I MOST willingly comply with your request in giving you an account of some parts of the conversation I had the good fortune to have with the emperor Napoleon.—After conversing, for about a quarter of an hour, on various subjects, relative mostly to the opinions entertained of him in France,—he suddenly asked me, if I had not been educated in that country, to which I replied that I had; and that a person, on whom his Imperial Majesty had conferred great honours, was at the same college, and at the same time—he asked me who he was; I told him the duke of Treviso, marshal Mortier. “ Have you seen him in Paris?” said the emperor; “ and what does he say of me?” I answered, “ That I had not, because he was at his country seat; but that, if I might be permitted, I would state to his majesty an anecdote of his conduct, after the battle of Talavera.” He warmly replied, “ I shall be delighted to hear it.”—I then observed that, after the battle, he found he had some English officers, as prisoners, in his possession. He told them that the fortune of war might make prisoners of the bravest; he observed, that officers, thus situated, were frequently distressed for want of money; he therefore hoped that he might be per-

“mitted to put into each of their hands twenty
“Napoleons; which, at their convenience, they would
“replace to his credit at their bankers in London.”
“The emperor instantly, and with warmth, exclaimed,
“*Je suis charmé de l’entendre, cela me fait grand*
“*plaisir; mais cela ne me surprend pas c’est digne de*
“*lui.*” He then said, “If you were educated in
“France you are, perhaps, a catholic;” I said I was;
“*Je le suis aussi,*” replied his majesty; and added, “On
“ne quitte jamais la religion de ses parens.—This led
“him on to a long discussion of what is called the
“Catholic Question, and of the law, which he deno-
“minated “*La Loi du Texte,*” meaning our Test Act.
“He became very animated, and with evident pride to
“himself, contrasted his mode of governing, to that
“pursued in Great Britain; laughed at men being
“frightened, in this enlightened age, at popes or priests;
“and observed, with great emphasis, that his rule of
“conduct had been to extinguish all religious ani-
“mosities, by giving to all, an identity of interests, and
“thus to consolidate public opinion to his government.
“He added, “I gave to the protestants, and to the
“catholics pecuniary establishments, and equal civil
“rights; and I found, to the last hour of my reign,
“the protestants warmly attached to me. The jews
“also participated in all civil rights, and I found them,
“not only in France, but in the many difficulties in
“which I was engaged, in my campaigns in Poland;
“warmly attached to me.” The conversation then
“turned on various points, his opinion of our Regent,
“and other sovereigns of Europe, and on several other
“topics, until it came to the development of his
“opinions on the many great benefits he had conferred
“on the French empire. The greatest of these he

“ evidently considered the *Code Napoleon*, which, he
“ said, happen what would to him, would carry his fame
“ down to posterity. He mentioned the ecclesiastical
“ establishments, he had given to France, together with
“ the increase and stimulus he had given to her internal
“ trade; these, he classed among his most salutary acts
“ of civil legislation. He said that he pretended not to
“ have more religion than other men; but that he had
“ always entertained an opinion that an ecclesiastical
“ establishment was necessary for a people. On that
“ principle he had acted, and had formed a concordat
“ with the pope. He then entered at large on the
“ situation of France, when he became consul; and
“ stated, among other things, that, when he entered
“ upon its government, he found property without
“ security, a people without spiritual ministers, churches
“ turned into temples of reason, and anarchy and con-
“ fusion in the country. That, in forming the ecclesi-
“ astical establishment, he considered that the priest-
“ hood should not be too rich; and, at the same time,
“ that they should be independent; but, to consolidate
“ the church with the state, he made both the treasury
“ and the land-owners pay towards the maintenance of
“ the priesthood. After dwelling on various particulars,
“ he entered slightly on the subject of education, which,
“ he said, it was his intention to have greatly improved.
“ He asked me, if I had noticed any of the institutions
“ of the *Brothers of the Christian Doctrine*; I answered
“ that I had visited very minutely two of their establish-
“ ments. On this he observed, that it was his intention
“ to have very much increased them, as he believed
“ them to be good practical institutions, for the educa-
“ tion of the lower classes of the people; that he had
“ endowed several, and that the prefects had reported,

“generally, very well of them. The conversation
“shortly after turned upon England. He said, that, for
“several years England had been at the zenith of her
“glory ; that she might, for some time, remain there ;—
“but, that such must be the pressure on her, from her
“immense national debt, and such the necessary decrease
“of her trade, from the great stimulus he had given to
“the commerce of continental nations, that her descent
“into the rank of secondary nations was nearer at hand,
“than was probably generally imagined.

“These are the very words of some parts of the con-
“versation, I had the honour to hold with this most
“extraordinary man ; a conversation which to the hour
“of my death I shall never forget.”

Appendix No. 4.

THE ABBÉ CARON,

Referred to in page 264.

AMONG the respectable exiles, whom the French revolution drove into this country, the abbé Caron deserves particular mention. At this time, he is in his fifty-seventh year; and it may be confidently asserted, that, from his earliest use of reason, not a day has passed, which has not been employed by him, in promoting the honour of God and the welfare of his neighbour. Several documents, now before the writer of these pages, attest that; even in his earliest years, his zeal to instruct children in the doctrines and life of Christ, and to procure charity for such of them, as were poor, was exemplary, and that his zeal was as discreet as it was active. His attention extended to the distressed of every age and description. On one occasion he discovered an old soldier, paralytic, and in extreme want. He represented his case to the marquis of Serrent, then commander of Britany. Moved by the tale of woe, and the ingenuous and humble manner of the applicant, the marquis put a liberal donation into his hands, and directed his two sons to accompany him to the poor soldier's hovel, that they might behold, with their own eyes, the sufferings, to which their fellow creatures are subject, and be taught, by their own feelings, the pleasure and duty of relieving them. The report, which they made to the marquis of the misery of the

soldier, of his joy and gratitude for the unexpected succour which was sent him, and of the terms of affection and veneration, with which he spoke of the youth who had interceded for him,—(the abbé Caron was then only in his fourteenth year),—filled the marquis with respect for him; and from that time, the marquis made him the distributor of his charities. These were very large, and his example was imitated by others.

Having gone through a regular course of preparatory study, he was ordained priest, at Rennes, his native town, in the twenty-second year of his age; the canons, which prescribe the age of twenty-four years for the ordination of a priest, having, on account of his eminent piety and other qualifications for the sacred ministry, been dispensed with in his regard. He devoted himself to his sacerdotal duties—was most assiduous at the altar, at the offices of the church, in the pulpit, and in the confessional; always zealous, but always unpretending and always mild. Touched with the temporal and spiritual wants of the poor, he conceived the plan of an institution, which should always furnish them with employment, and the gains of which would not only support them in comfort and decency, but furnish a fund for the relief of other poor. For this purpose, the abbé, with the consent of the bishop and magistracy of Rennes, established a linen manufactory in that city. Its beginnings were very small; but Providence blessed the undertaking; so that, in a few years, it employed and supported 4,000 poor, and its savings went to the aid of many more. Other establishments, particularly schools for poor children, and asylums for the penitent of each sex, were founded by the abbé.

All perished in the general wreck of every thing good, in the French revolution.—Some time before that event,

the bad state of the abbé's health having obliged him to suspend his parochial functions, he went to Paris. The distresses of the poor, at this time, increased every day: the abbé solicited contributions for them from door to door.—Unknown and unprotected, he found access to the greatest, and few, to whom he applied, could resist his affecting applications. He was much noticed by Lewis sixteenth and his queen, and received large donations from them. He was marked for destruction by the leaders of the massacres at Paris, in 1792, and confined in the prison of St. Melania. He was included in the decree of deportation, and found refuge in Jersey. Large numbers of the French had previously obtained refuge in that island. He arrived in it pennyless, and with no other clothes than those he wore: but, his arrival was a day of joy to all his countrymen, from their reliance on his active and ever successful charity.—“The abbé Caron is come!”—they said to one another, with tears of joy. Nor were they disappointed: such were his exertions, and such the charity and generosity of the islanders, and of others who came to his aid, that he was enabled, first, to erect a roman-catholic chapel for the use of the emigrants: 2dly, A small library of books of instruction and piety: 3dly, A medical dispensary: and, 4thly, Schools for French children of each sex.

In 1796, the general body of the expatriated French, who were settled in Jersey, was ordered to England. The abbé Caron fixed his residence at Somers-town. There his exertions for the relief of his countrymen knew no bounds. He planned immediately several charitable institutions. He stated his different projects to doctor Douglas, the late amiable and respectable roman-catholic vicar-apostolic of the London district,

and requested his approbation of them. This, the good prelate readily gave; but observed to the abbé, that he had no pecuniary means of assisting him. As soon as the abbé quitted him, another French priest entered the room. Doctor Douglas mentioned to him the abbé's projects, and expressed great fears of their not succeeding.—“Don't be in the least afraid of that,” said the French priest. “From his infancy the abbé “Caron has been full of projects for the poor; and he “has not yet failed in one.” The prediction proved true. Before long, the abbé established in the neighbourhood of London,—1st, A school for the education of French boys:—2dly, Another, for the education of French girls. In each, when the parents could not afford to pay for them, the children were gratuitously lodged, clothed, fed and instructed.—3dly, He supported a chapel in London-street, Fitzroy-square, for the use of the emigrés.—4thly, An hospice in Somers-town, for aged and decrepit ecclesiastics.—5thly, An infirmary, in the same place, for poor emigrés.—6thly, A seminary, in the same place, for the education of young Frenchmen destined for the church.—7thly, A repository, in the same place, for cast-off apparel, and every other article which could be serviceable to his poor countrymen; and, finally, a convenient and neat chapel, also in Somers-town, for the general use of the roman-catholics in that place and its vicinity. The wisdom and prudence with which these exertions were made, add to their merit. The means of carrying them on were never wanting, and the manner of conducting them never gave offence.

The private life of the abbé was as edifying as his public was exemplary; no one saw him in prayer, whose piety was not kindled by what he saw; no one

conversed with him, even in the hours of his greatest relaxation, without an increase of piety and his respect for religion.

On the restoration of the Bourbons, the abbé returned to France. He left Somers-town, as he had left France, no person offended with him, thousands blessing his memory.

Without the incomparable munificence of the nation where he found refuge, nothing of this could have been done ; neither could it have been accomplished, without the edifying co-operation of his own countrymen. Many of the ancient French nobility of each sex, took an active part in the good work. There is not in teaching, in household occupation, in attending the sick, the decrepit, or the dying, a laborious, a wearisome or a disgusting act, to which, through all the long years of the emigration, these honourable victims of religion and loyalty, did not cheerfully and regularly submit.

It was the good fortune of the writer to witness these scenes, and to be acquainted with many of the edifying actors in them. In his remembrance they will ever live ; he wishes he had a better pen to describe them.

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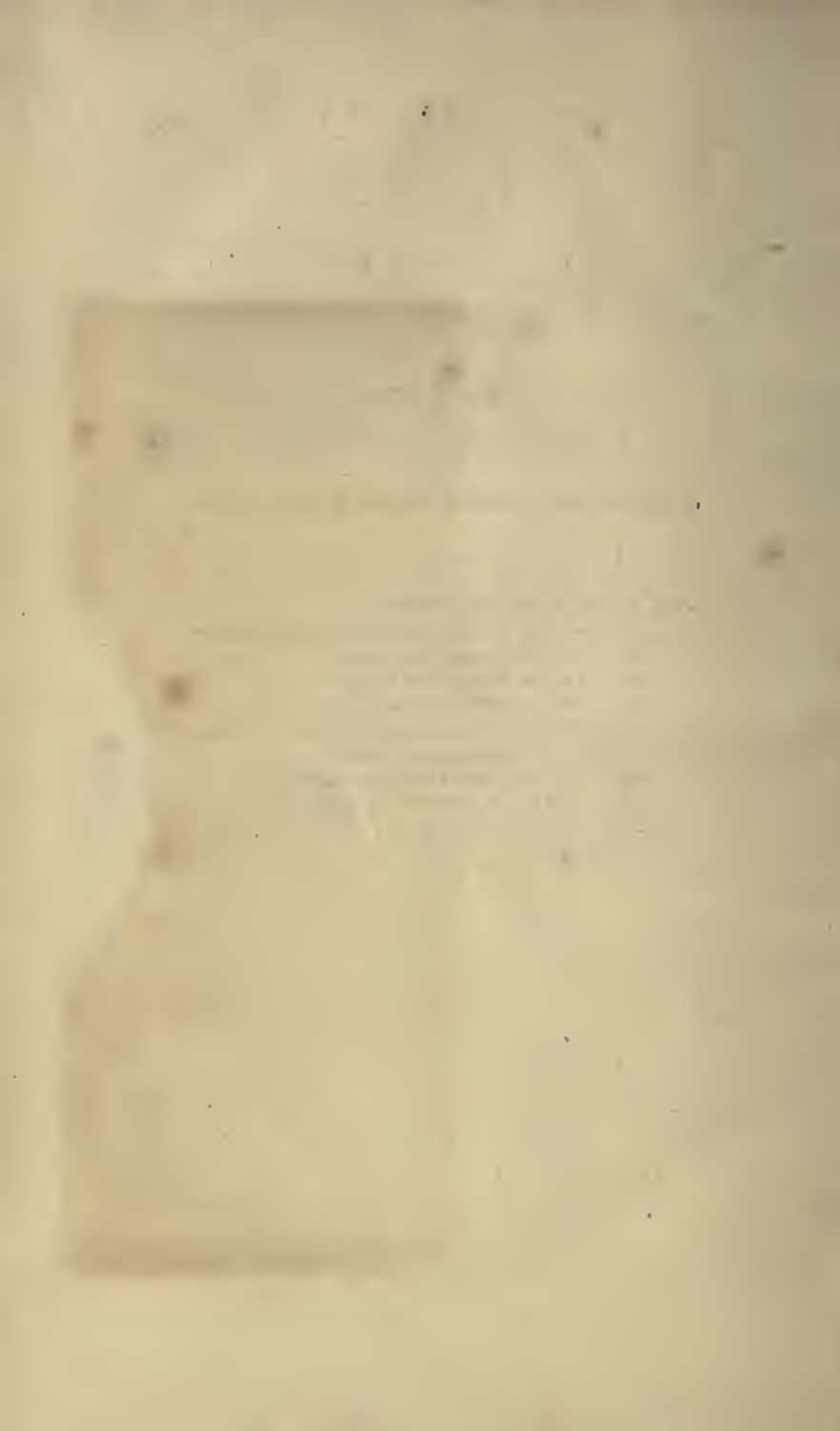
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